An Albanian Historical Grammar

by

STUART E. MANN

HELMUT BUSKE VERLAG HAMBURG

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FOREWORD

The Speculative Background

Albanians regard themselves by long tradition as descendants of the Pelasgians, said to be the oldest inhabitants of Europe. Amid much irrelevance and speculation Spyros Kondas, a postgraduate of the Faculty of Philosophy at Athens University, has tried to make out a case for the Pelasgian origin of the Albanians in a work, written in Greek, entitled "The Albanians and the Pelasgian Problem", 1962. In this work Kondas, an Albanian, has put forward all the claims, probable and improbable, that have ever been made in support of his thesis.

Many hypotheses do not add up to a single certainty. Even so, there is a strong prima facie probability that the Pelasgians actually existed, since they would otherwise hardly have found a place in the Iliad (ii, 681-4; ii. 840-3; x. 428-9; xvi. 233-5). Herodotus (11.50-1) made the claim that the Greeks received the names of their gods in part from the Egyptians, but that those of their gods not identifiable as Egyptian came to the Greeks via the Pelasgians. The same writer also suggests a Pelasgian origin for some attribute of Hermes at a time when Pelasgians and Greeks were becoming integrated. Certain mysteries of the "Kabiroi" are mentioned, which were said to have been passed on by the Pelasgians to the Samothracians. But it is not clear what Herodotus means by "mysteries", whether crafts , folktales, customs, or some form of worship. According to him, the Pelasgians lived in Samothrace before they moved south to Attica. Here they taught the natives phallic worship by way of statuary representing Hermes.

A link with Albania is suggested in 11.52 when Herodotus mentions Dodona, home of the oldest of all the oracles, where Pelasgians were said to offer sacrifices to a multitude of nameless gods. Dodona was consulted by Aeneas before his fateful voyage to Latium. The oracle is associated with Buthrotum, now Butrinto in Southern Albania, the site of a temple and an amphitheatre which are still visible.

Hesiod, a contemporary of Homer, constructed a theogony, or family tree of gods, which he associated with the Pelasgians.

The Pelasgians seem to have been the prehistoric inhabitants of the Aegean and Eastern Mediterranean coasts and islands. If so, they were a partly assimilated people within the Arcado-Helleno-Doric complex of Indo-European speakers, sporadic survivors of a Mediterranean civilization whose language may well have been that of the as yet unread Linear A script that preceded Mycenaean.

Herodotus (born between 490 and 480 B.C.) was unable to say with certainty what the language of the Pelasgians was, but pointed out that it still existed in pockets at a place called Krestōn close to the "Tyrrhenians", as well as at Plakeia and Skylakē on the Hellespont. The people of these areas, says Herodotus, " speak a language unlike (that of) any of their neighbours". Herodotus goes on to claim that large numbers of Pelasgians had assimilated themselves to the Greeks.

A large find of Linear A tablets, written in the pictorial syllabary that preceded the stylized Linear B, might shed some light on the origin of the Pelasgians and their language. Whether such a language will one day be further identified with Caucasian, Etruscan or Basque is a speculation too remote to contemplate at this stage. Yet if Albanian tradition should one day be confirmed, and a link between them and the Pelasgians be found, this would only create another problem. Albanian is undeniably an Indo-European language, with a phonology that identifies it with Greek, Armenian, Slavonic, Baltic, and more remotely, with Hittite, Indo-Iranian, Italic, Celtic and Germanic. The regularity of correspondence between the forms of Albanian and those of the other Indo-European languages rules out any possible affinity with the non-Indo-European languages represented by Basque or Caucasian.

ILLYRIAN

The immediate ancestor of Albanian is Illyrian. Yet despite the enormous archaeological activity of recent years in Albania, and the abundant finds that it has yielded, no more evidence of the Illyrian language has come to light than was available to Hans Krahe when he published his "Ancient Balkan-Illyrian Geographical Names"(in German) 1925, and his "Lexicon of Old Illyrian Personal Names"(in German, with a supplement of geographical names missed out of the earlier work), 1929.

Three words found on a ring at Kalaja near Scutari (ANA OHΘH ICEH, of uncertain meaning) tell nothing of value about Illyrian, and no other inscriptions have been found. The successive conquest of Macedonia and Illyricum by the Romans under Aemilius Paulus (168 B.C.), Greeks and Venetians has done no more than preserve a large number of personal and place names , a few of which can be tentatively interpreted. Their inflections are for the most part those of Latin or Greek, to which they have been adapted, so that these cannot be reliably accepted as evidence of early Illyrian grammar. The name Tyrímmas or Tirímmas is the name of a legendary king common to Epirus and Macedonia, which may be compared to Albanian trim 'hero'. This name, with its accusative form Turímman, indicates the development of Indo-European +o of the masculine o-stems to Illyrian -a-, a change that is paralleled in modern Albanian (cf. Alb. natë and Latin nox 'night'). Its reconstruction as +tr̥u̯imos shows it to be an extension of the root +tr̥u̯- as seen in Skt. tūrvāmi 'overpower': Av.taurv-, id.: Hitt. taruh(mi), id. : W tryw 'lasting' : Pol. trwać, Ukr. tryvaty, Cz. trvat 'last',and a Finnish loanword turva 'defence'. A complete declension of o-stem type seems to be preserved in the male name Peukestas, acc: Peukestan, gen: Peukesta, dat: Peukestaj, abl. Peukeste. Similarly the name Sippas has an accusative Sippan, and Sirras an accusative Sirran. The i-stem is represented in the Illyrian king's name Bardylis, a name equated by tradition with Albanian i bardhë 'white' and yll'star'. The name of an Illyrian king Pinnes provides evidence of a t-stem in its accusative form Pinnetem, dative Pinneti, beside the usual Greek inflections -ēs and -ou. The tribal names Buliones, and the city-name of Tribulium indicate a formation similar to that of Greek phūlios 'tribal',cf. tri-phūlos 'of tribes'.

A common inflection is that of the nt-stem represented in the nominative by -es or -as, oblique: -ent- or -ant-. This inflection occurs only in personal names such as Dases, Dasas, gen: Dasentis, Dasantis, dative: Dasenti, Dasanti. The variant Dazas, gen: Dazantis indicates a pronunciation differing from Greek or Latin -s-, while the variant spelling of the inflectional vowel as e or a may indicate (ə). Compare Albanian sh and ë in dashës 'loving', to which one might add, as a tentative equation, Illyrian Dasimius, Dazimos, Dasimos, Dasmenus, Dasmus : Albanian i dashëm 'beloved'. A feminine form Dazima also occurs. The untypical nature of the internal consonant is underlined by such variant spellings as Daxos, Daximia, and Daszos, which Krahe has compared to a word found in Messapian daszes. The masculine name Beusas, Beuzas, gen. -antis, is without a counterpart in modern Albanian, but the names Deusus, Deusa and Deuso suggest the Albanian place names Dushi (Puka), Dusha (Kruja) and Dushari (Opari), the last in particular having an exact counterpart in the Dacian name Deusara, a place-name recorded in an Illyrian wax tablet, and according to Krahe, equatable with Messapian daoza- and dozas.

The Dalmatian personal name Ceunus has a feminine counterpart Ceuna, with a possible equation in Albanian çun 'boy'. Feminine nouns in a are abundant; one female name Dita equates with Albanian ditë 'day'.

A Dalmatian Illyrian name that has attracted some attention is that of a patronymic, expressed in the genitive, of a female series Avita Suioca Vesclevesis, Roesia Vesclevesis, and a dative formula Vesclevesi Petronio Triti. The nominative form is reconstructed as $^{+}$Vesclevos, and is a clear example of an IE s-stem equatable with Skt. vasu-śravas 'of good report', cf. Gk. euklеēs, id. The initial fragment ves- has no equivalent in Albanian; the form -cleves- is paralleled by the Macedonian name Clevas, and the Dalmatian names Clevatus and Clevata, a form with an exact equivalent in Albanian i quejt-un , a t-stem adjectival derivative of quej, Old Albanian kluonj, Çam Albanian and Greek-Albanian kluanj 'I call, name' : Gk. kléō, kleíō, klējzō 'I extol' : Lat. clueō 'am called, am famous': OCS slovǫ, slujǫ, id. The evidence of Sanskrit and Slavonic is sufficient to establish the satəm character of the initial, a fact which does not emerge from the Illyrian and Albanian forms. This has misled a number of scholars into the belief that Illyrian, hence Albanian, is not a satəm language, a notion that is clearly contradicted in such Albanian terms as dhâmb 'tooth' (OCS zǫbŭ : Li. žambas, etc.), thom 'I say' (Skt. śāsmi : OCS 3sg. sětŭ, etc.). But the form clev- contains a former satəm k̂ which is "protected" by a following l, and therefore appears as Illyro-Albanian k. A similar case is Albanian grun 'wheat' (IE $^{+}$ĝr̥̄nom).

The variant spellings of Illyrian names, sometimes with -o-, sometimes with -a-, indicate a transition from -o- to -a- that in Albanian has become an established fact (cf. Alb. natë 'night': Lat. nox; Alb. darkë 'supper' : Gk. dórpon ; Alb. mardhë 'frost, chill' : OCS mrazŭ, R moroz). This fluctuation is apparent in such place names as Ortopla, Artopla, and the mountain name of Scordus, Scardus, as well as in the frequent personal name Aplo-, Apla beside Oplus, Opla (perhaps = 'great, powerful', cf. Lat. opulens), but the earlier -o- is represented in the personal name Trosius (cf. Alb. i trashë 'fat') and in the place name Moldavia as well as in the tribal name Molossi ("Epirots" as used by Virgil, Pliny and the historian Livy). The name Codra, acc. Codran however is reflected in Albanian kodër 'hill' : Rum. codru 'forest', and like its parallel form Scodra, almost certainly reflects a name of Italic origin, hence Albanian -o- for -a-. The name Varro (Latin poet of Illyrian origin) is said to mean 'robber', but the word cannot be traced in modern Albanian.

In common with Thracian, Dacian and Phrygian, Illyrian represents IE $^{+}$bh, $^{+}$dh, and $^{+}$gh as simple plosives (b,d,g), a factor which places it in contrast to Greek, Italic and Venetic. The Illyrian river name Drava equates with Gk. thróos 'noise, roar', and the name of the Illyrian king Grabos (circa 355 B.C.) suggests a similar de-aspiration of $^{+}$gh and $^{+}$bh. The late Illyrian word grōssa 'file' (Arnobius, Chiron, 4th. century A.D.) equates with Albanian grresë 'rasp, scraper' and displays the change from -ō- to -e- characteristic of both inherited Albanian (ne'we': Lat. nōs) and of loanwords (Gjergj fr. Georgius). Since the verbal basis of this word is grryej 'I scrape', and is equatable with either Gk. khraínō 'I graze, touch' or with Gk. khrōjzō, khrōnnūmi 'I touch', the aspirated origin of the initial is assured. See page 192: grryej.

The absence of glosses makes the interpretation of Illyrian names a matter of speculation. The following are listed without prejudice:

Di-malē, Di-bolia
Tri-teuta, Tri-bulium
Katar-batēs
Pantia
Sestus
Statarıa
Tattu, Tato, Tatus
Andena
Decomos
Ducetios

MACEDONIAN

The evidence for a special relationship between Macedonian and Albanian is limited to Greek glosses, many of them by Hesychius. The Macedonian plakoni 'council of elders' is reflected in Albanian pleqní 'old folk', and the variant pleqësí 'council of village elders'. The names of early Macedonian kings (seventh to third century B.C.) display the ending -as as in Perdiccas, Amyntas, while feminine nouns of a-stem end in -a, as in Emathia, the ancient name of Macedonia. But Macedonian glosses are usually given in Graecized form, and the masculine o-stems are therefore spelt with -os rather than -as, as in skoîdos 'governor'.

There is little to link Macedonian more closely with Illyrian than with Greek, except that, as in Illyrian, the IE aspirates are de-aspirated. Thus the Macedonian equivalent of Greek pherenīkē 'victorious',f. is berenīkē 'ace', literally 'victory-bringing'; Gk. phalakrós 'bald' , lit. 'white-topped' is Mac. balakrós, cf. Alb. bal 'white spot, blaze'; Greek thraûma 'fragment' may be represented in Mac. drámis 'bread',and Gk. thálassa'sea' appears in Mac. as dalágkha. De-aspiration, as well as the change from -o- to -a- is illustrated in Mac. $^{+}$grabás, acc.sing. grabán 'ditch, pit, basin' : MHG grap, gen.sing. grabes 'grave', while IE $^{+}$gṷ- is represented in Mac. gullás 'bucket' in relation to the Gk. compound arú-ballos 'well-bucket'. A curious feature of Macedonian is the representation of IE $^{+}$ĝ by k, an oddity shared with Phrygian. Examples of this are kómbos 'molar tooth' : Gk. gómphos : Skt. jambhaḥ: Alb. dhâmb 'tooth', and Mac. kánadoi 'jawbones', cf. Gk. gnáthoi. This curious feature is paralleled in Phrygian kono- : Gk. gónos, and ni-kintei, a dative singular equated by O. Haas with a type similar to Latin gens, gentis : OCS zętĭ 'son-in-law' (Neue phrygische Sprachdenkmäler, KZ,83, I,70-87). Satəmism is oddly difficult to trace both in Illyrian and in Macedonian.

MESSAPIAN

The inscriptions recorded by Ribezzo, and those discovered since, shed little light on the nature of Messapian as an Indo-European language. A small number of Greek glosses help to identify the language in terms of phonology (-ao- seems to represent prototype $^{+}$eu or $^{+}$ou) and grammar (-as, the sign of the masculine nominative singular in artas 'king',beside dasimas, kalatoras, daxtas, dastas,etc.). Krahe's tentative equations with personal and geographical names from the Illyrian area simply link unknowns with unknowns. Even so, there are some striking similarities. The all-important clue for "satəmism" is missing from the forms cited as Messapian cognates of Illyrian and Albanian, such as klaoz- in relation to Illyrian Ves-cleves-. Not only is this citation of uncertain meaning (it is more probably a form of the Latin name Claudius), it does not give the typical reflex of IE +k̂, but rather a "protected" form as described above under Illyrian (page iv). A similar instance of this occurs in the equation of Albanian krye 'head' : Greek krāníon, from a type +k̂r̥̄nii̭o-.

The uncertain value of the diphthong representing IE +eu or +ou is apparent from the variant spellings of Messapian bauría, buríon 'dwelling', a term that is clearly of the same order as bâris 'large house' and the city name of Barium. This fluctuation seems to mark the beginning of a phonetic process corresponding to that of +-au- to -a- in Albanian, cf. the Albanian loanwords ar 'gold' (aurum), pak 'little' (paucum), gaz 'joy' (gaudium), lar 'laurel' (laurus), and the name Pal (Paulus). Whatever the background of bauría, bur-, bâr- the indication is one of de-aspiration in the initial (cf. Eng. bower, Ger. Vogel-bauer 'cage', reflecting IE +bh-). There is no counterpart in Albanian to this word.

A gloss frequently cited is Messapian bréntion, variant bréndos 'stag's head', said to form part of the name Brentesium, otherwise Brundusium , Brundisium, modern Brindisi, owing to the shape of that city's harbour . This word is usually linked with Albanian brî, gen.sg. brîni 'horn', a form with a history that may be paralleled in that of Alb. gjej 'I find' (page 185 , cf. the mediopassive form gjindem 'find myself'), grî, g.s. grîni 'whetstone' (from +gṷhrendh-, cf. Lat. frendō and Eng. grind), anë 'side' (from +ănti-, cf. Gk. antí and Eng. end), and janë 'they are', fr. a type +esn̥ti, cf. Epic and Ion. éasi and Doric entí, all of which show loss of the dental after -n-.

The name Domatoris, variant Domatriax, seems to equate with Doric Dāmātēr 'Ceres' and to display the sound change of IE +ā to Alb. o as in motër 'sister'. Phrygian , however, has -ā- as in materan, acc. 'mother'. Beside the name Artás, said to mean 'great, splendid; king' mentioned above, Krahe mentions a Messapian valla, vallaos which seems to echo a Dalmatian name Vallius and the Southern Italian name Vellaeus, to which he adds the inscriptional genitive of a patronymic (Vallaidiji 'of the son of V.').

Many attempts have been made to wrest some sense out of the Messapian inscriptions, several of them no more than fragments. On a cinerary urn there occurs the inscription dinzanihis dazehiai (read dinśanīs daśējai) which appears to be a name followed by another in the genitive. The formula Klojiśis aviθos θotoriddas ana aprodita apaogrebis appears to be a dedication to Aphrodite with the two names of the dedicator in the nominative, followed by a patronymic in -iddas. The variant spellings θaotoras and θaotora (beside θotora-) occur in other inscriptions, and appear to be Messapian forms of the name Theodorus. The words veinan aran in another inscription have been interpreted as 'his field', cf. Albanian arë 'field'.

A phonetic characteristic of Messapian is the representation of short u of Latin and Greek as -o-. Thus Greek argurion 'coin' appears with the spelling argorian, Latin nummum appears as noman, locrōn appears to represent Latin lucrum, and the name Orra appears to represent the name Uria. The inscriptions as a whole yield very little information. One suggests a ban on the striking of coins in a certain place. The word taota- gives the local pronunciation of the word found in Umbrian touto 'city', and -z- represents a palatalized sibilant (ś or š) as in Illyrian. The third person singular of the verb apparently ends in -at, the third person plural in -an.

THRACIAN

The scant remains of Thracian, which covered a broader field than later Dacian, make any but the most superficial reconstruction of the language impossible. The apparent reflexes of IE +bh and +gh seem to be present in the place name Berga, and the substrate Rumanian word breb 'beaver',(cf. Lat. fiber and Eng. beaver, Lithuanian bebras,etc. from +bhebhros) seems to confirm this. Thus Thracian, like Daco-Illyrian and Phrygian,does not distinguish the aspirated consonants of Indo-European. A formula said to be Thracian is equa bardia (= Lat. equa forda 'pregnant mare),displaying -b- for original +bh (cf. OCS brěždĭ and Lat. forda) and -a- for original -o-. The o-stem inflections are apparently also reduced to -a- as in +zelâs,m. vine', gen. and dat. sing. zelá, a partial declension that is partly reflected in Macedonian Olkías, acc. Olkían, gen. Olkia (cf. OCS vlŭčij 'of a wolf').

Triballus, a Thracian introduced as a comic character in Aristophanes "Birds", is made to speak "gibberish" at lines 1615, 1628 and 1678, and Doric at line 1572. At line 1615, in answer to a question "What dost thou say?" Triballus says Nabaisatreû. The answer fits the Albanian formula në besë truej 'I swear on oath'(for treû : truej, cf. Illyrian Ves-clev-es-: quej, kluonj 'I call'). In line 1628 Triballus replies to Hercules' question "Does Triballus seem to thee to be raving?" with the words Saunáka baktarikroûsa, from which nothing convincing can be deduced. Equally obscure is the formula Kaláni kórauna kai megála basilinaû órnito paradídōmi, of which only the first two words are non-Greek; the rest, in garbled Greek, suggesting that Triballus was unable to pronounce Greek theta. (Cf. the seemingly borrowed name of Theodorus in its various Messapian guises: θeotorras, θaotoras, Taotorrije, Totoridda-,etc.). The name Triballus is paralleled in another comic character who forms the title of another play by Aristophanes (Triphalēs), and a satirical character by Varro called Tríphallos.

Satəmism in Thracian is difficult to establish for certain. The word +zelâs 'vine' suggests equation with Old Latin helusa, Lat. holera'vegetables' : Lithuanian žalesos, žalēsiai 'green vegetables' : OCS zelo,n. 'herb'; zelije 'vegetables'. An extension of this root is seen also in Phrygian zélkia 'greens, herbs',cf. Russian zlaki'herbs, grasses'. Yet in Phrygian the word ziglas 'guts, vitals' equates with Latvian žigls (ž unexplained) 'lively' under a possible caption +gu̯iglo-. This seems to lend colour to Holger Pedersen's argument that z- in Phrygian represents no more than a fronted velar before e/i, in other words, prepalatalization rather than satəmism.

VENETIC

This language is definitely not a member of the Albanian family, but an extension of Italic. This much is clear from the votive formulae to the goddess Rehtia, in which, at least in initial position, Latin f is represented vh-, and Latin h appears as h . The geographical spread of the Illyrians to northern places like Flanona (note the initial F-) has led to the (doubtless erroneous) identification of the Veneti with Illyricum.

Among the gifts dedicated to Rehtia is one described as kanta ruman(a) , elsewhere spelt kanta rumanna, which seems to mean "a hundred Roman" ,sc. "coins" (cf. English 'florins', literally "coins of Florence"). Elsewhere a gift of kanta m(a)kna ("a hundred magna", sc."coins") is mentioned. If this is correct, Venetic is a "centum" language.

PHRYGIAN

Geographically remote from the Illyrian group of languages, Phrygian is more appropriate as a background to Armenian (a satəm language like Albanian) than to Albanian, in which satəmism is represented by dentals,cf. thom 'I say', dhâmb 'tooth', dimën 'winter', cognates respectively of Sk. śāsmi, jámbhaḥ and héman (a Vedic locative), cf. Sk. himáḥ, himā and Av. zim, zimō 'winter'. The extant fragments of Phrygian however do not indicate a closer relationship to either group than that of a sister language. Herodotus (VII,73) identified the Phrygians with the Armenians, whereas Strabo (De Phrygibus 10,3,16) saw them as "colonies of Thracians". The alleged relationship with Armenian is disturbed by the fact that whereas Armenian distinguishes the aspirates (IE $^{+}$bh,dh,ĝh,gh) from the non-aspirates (IE $^{+}$b,d,ĝ,g), Phrygian does not (cf. Phrygian brater 'brother', and Bagaîos 'Zeus' in relation to Sk. bhágaḥ 'supreme god').

The forms ouekro 'father-in-law' and ou(e)kra 'mother-in-law' reflect the loss of initial $^{+}$s- as in Albanian vjehërr 'father-, mother-in-law'. Other indications include the words abberet 'shall bring',addaket 'shall do', and glourós 'gold' in relation to Greek khlo(w)erós 'green'. The Phrygian name Mídas, with its Greek-style genitive in -ou, is an apparent o-stem. Stressed IE $^{+}$o , however, is represented in kos'who',and in kolta,adj.fem. (queried) 'beloved' , and the IE labiovelar is represented by k- before a back vowel. Hesychius does not always identify his"barbarian"words. If zizánion 'couch-grass' is Indo-European, z- represents the IE labiovelar $^{+}$gu̯- as in OE cwice, gen. cwican 'quitchen,couchgrass'. Arcadian has an instance of this in zérethron 'abyss'. Phrygian totoss (sic) 'city' corresponds to Umbrian touto,id. , Messapian taotas,and Illyrian teuto-, a word not found in Albanian.

The vexed question of satəmism in Phrygian appears to be negated by the existence of such forms as kono-, cf. Gk. gónos 'begotten son', and a dative form ni-kintei (see above,p.vi: Macedonian). This notion seems to be confirmed by a statement by Plato (Kratylos, ch.36), where he says that the Phrygian names for fire, water and dog were the same as in Greek. Since the Greek word for 'dog' (kuōn) is an attested satəm word in both Skt. (śvan) and Lithuanian (šuo), this can only mean that Phrygian represents IE $^{+}$k̂ as k in this word at least. (Cf. Max Müller, Science of Language, I, 139, 1882 : "It is lost labour to try to extract anything positive from the statements of the Greeks and Romans on the race and the language of their barbarian neighbours").

RHAETO-RUMANSH

The Indo-European character of Ligurian, the language once spoken in the area now occupied by Rumansh or Ladin, is assured by such substrate survivals as marv,-a 'frozen stiff' : Ir. marbh. W marw 'dead' : OHG maro, gen.sg. marawes 'rotten' ; ǧerv,-a ' raw, clammy': Ital. dial garbo 'pungent, tart' (for further relationships cf. either W garw, Ir garbh 'rough, rude, violent' or ,in zero-grade Srb. grbav 'rough') ; sterp,-a 'briar, dry stick' : Alb. shterpë 'barren' : Rumanian substrate sterp,id. ; biag 'dung', cf. Alb. balgë, bagël,id. : Rum. băligă,beside balegă (via Slavonic),id. : Srb. balega, id., cf. Fr. bauge 'mixture of mud and straw' ; crap 'rock, stone', crapa 'rocks' beside crep, cripel 'rock': Alb. krep, id.; tsipla 'shaving' : Alb. cefël,id.; čot 'sheep' , cf. It-Alb. çotë 'poor, miserable' beside çot 'fool' ; tutta 'reed-pipe : Alb. tytë 'tube, pipe'; and the enigmatic chafuol 'deep' : Alb. kthellë,id. Tree-names, such as drosa 'mountain alder' indicate a local vocabulary, and the name Bever 'beaver' (village, valley, and mountain-peak), and its adjectival form Beverin (name of a river) has a substrate cognate in Rumanian breb 'beaver', indicating also the loss of the IE aspiration of $^{+}$bh in this mountain region.

These, and other survivals, indicate the former existence of an Indo-European speech midway between Italic and Celtic. Parallels with Albanian are therefore remote, but occasional parallels in its Latin vocabulary and attendant phonology with those of Albanian loanwords throw some light on the history of the latter. Thus chamma 'leg' reflects Albanian kâmbë 'leg, foot' rather than Italian gamba and French jambe. The word eivna, evna, emna and jamma 'week' indicate Albanian javë 'week', an unusual loanword (Gk. hebdomás). The simplified phonology of dret 'right, straight' reflects contraction and loss as in Albanian i drejtë,id. In the variants rauc, rac and roc phonology runs parallel to that of Messapian (-ao-,-a-,-o-), and in part to that of modern Albanian (krak , krrak 'kind of crow: Pol.Ukr. kruk 'raven' : Latv. krauķis 'rook' ; cf. Lithuanian krauklis 'raven, crow', and OE hrēa, for $^{+}$hrēah 'rumbling in the bowels' : Pol. kruczeć 'rumble in bowels' : Cz. kručet,id. IE $^{+}$krauk-) . The change from -au- to Albanian -a- in Latin loanwords has been noted above. The loss of intervocalic -d- in Rumansh vau 'path' (from vadum) and in preja 'booty' is paralleled in Alb. va, gen.sg. vau 'ford' and in pre, gen.sg. preje, def. preja 'booty'. For Rumansh veče, vetsa 'place' cf. Albanian vis,id. , a word of uncertain history, either from Slavonic vĭsĭ,id. or from Latin vĭcis,id. but probably not IE. Rumansh marusa 'sweetheart' is reflected in Albanian morozë 'paramour', from Latin amorosa, and Rumansh amda, anda 'aunt' in Albanian e emtë 'paternal aunt'fr. Latin amita. Iotacized d appears in Rumansh as -z-, cf. Rumansh mez'middle, means, half' and Alb. mes, gen.sg. mezi 'middle, waist' , cf. Lat. medium.

DACIAN IN LATE LATIN WRITERS

The names of plants, trees and shrubs, recorded by Pseudo-Apuleius in the fourth century A.D., and by Dioscurides Latinus some two centuries later, are of little relevance to Albanian. From an analysis of these the following fragments emerge: (1) -dila, -dela, and -tila (for $^{+}$dēla?) 'leaf' or 'herb' (in tanidila 'catmint', adila 'edderwort' , procedila 'cinquefoil', diodela 'milfoil', and doctila (for $^{+}$tokdēla?) 'ground pine');(2) -zel, -zil- 'leaf' (in asiozelion 'henbane', given with a Latin equivalent asifolium; and azila 'houndstongue'); (3) bu- 'ox' (in budama 'bugloss', bugillo, an unknown herb); and (4) tani- (perhaps) 'pungent' or 'bitter' (in tanidila 'catmint' and tanium 'wormwood').

DACIAN IN RUMANIAN

Most of modern Rumania occupies the territory of ancient Dacia. The meagre evidence afforded by early Dacian place-names indicates a form of language not far removed from Albanian.The names Argi-dava,Singi-dava and Burri-dava are in part echoed in the name Mol-davia, a hilly country to the north-east of Rumania, whose elements seem to be those of Alb. mal 'mountain' and dhé, gen.sg. dheu 'land' , cf. Gk. gaîa, gê (from $^{+}$gau̯-

on the evidence of Laconian gabergór (for $^+$gau̯ergós) 'landworker'. This is suggestive of a satəm prototype $^+$ĝau̯-, and shows, if correct, that ancient Dacian was a satəm language which converted prototype $^+$ĝ into a dental like Albanian. This finds further confirmation in some of the substrate words listed below.

An interesting factor in Dacian, not reflected in Albanian, is the conversion of prototype IE $^+$qu̯ into -p-. Thus the place-name which occurs in Illyrian as Olcinium, Oulkinion, Albanian Ulqini has a counterpart in the Dacian names Ulpia Traiana and Ulpianum. The Illyrian name is usually linked with the Albanian word ulk, ujk 'wolf', a word with an attested IE $^+$qu̯. The inherited Latin vocabulary of modern Rumanian affords several examples of the conversion of -qu- to -p-, cf. apă 'water', patru 'four'. That this trend is an early phenomenon of the Balkan peninsula is clear from the variant spellings of a proper name Lukkeios beside Lukpeios and Luppeios, a king of Paeonia in Macedonia (H.Krahe, Altillyrische Personennamen, p.64).

A considerable number of Rumanian words cannot be traced to a Latin, Slavonic, or other source. Several of these have correspondences in Albanian, and are held to derive from a lost language that was common to Dacia and Illyria. A smaller number of such words occur in Bulgarian; these are thought to be survivals of Thracian, a language that is usually linked with Dacian and Illyrian. The following Rumanian words have parallel forms in Albanian: ábur 'steam' (ávull, id.); amurg 'dusk', beside murg 'brown, grey' (murg 'brown, grey'); balegă 'cowdung' (balgë, bagël, id.); barză 'stork' (cf. i bardhë 'white'); băl 'with a white blaze, of sheep' (bal 'white blaze on forehead'); brad 'fir' (bredh, id.); brîu 'sash, girdle, pallet in wall' (brez, id.); broască 'frog'; —— ţestoasă 'tortoise' (breshkë 'tortoise'); brústur 'burr' (brúshtull 'heather'); bubuì 'thunder' (bubullij, id.); buburuză 'small beetle' (buburecë 'beetle, insect'); buc 'chaff' (byk, id.); bucurie 'joy' (bukurí 'beauty'); bungét 'oak-thicket' (cf. bung 'oak'); buză 'lip, edge' (buzë, id.); căpuşă 'sheep-tick' (këpushë 'cattle-tick'); ceafă 'neck' (qafë, id.); chelbe 'dandruff' (qelb 'pus'); cioacă 'jackdaw' (qok 'jay, nightjar', qokë 'broody hen'); cioc 'beak' (qok 'point, target'); ciung 'docked' (cung, id.); ciut, şut 'hornless' (shyt, id.); codru 'forest' (kodër 'hill'); cucuveică 'night-owl' (kukuvajkë,id.); durd 'plump' (durd'sturdy; docked'); gard 'fence' (gardh,id., but the Rumanian form may be a Slavonic loanword,in view of gărduì 'to fence', with the Slav extension -ovati reflected in -uì) ; ghilț 'noose for trapping birds' (gilcë 'sinew'); ghimpe 'thorn,prickle' (gjêmb,id.); gîdilà 'tickle' (gidiloj,id.); groapă 'ditch, grave'(gropë, id.); grumàz 'neck, nape' (gurmáz 'open jaws, throat'); gudurà 'cajole' (cf. gudulis 'tickle'); gușă 'craw, crop'(gushë,id. cf. LL. geusiae) ; mal 'cliff, coast, mountain' (mal 'mountain'); mazăre 'pea'(módhullë,f. 'chick-pea'); moș 'old man', moașă 'old woman', moaște 'relics'(cf.Alb. moshë 'age'); mùgur 'bud, vine-shoot'(múgull 'shoot'); murg 'grey,brown' cf. amurg above ; rodiu, rodie 'pomegranate' (rrodhe, rrodhje 'burr') ; sîmbur 'pip, stone' (súmbullë 'knob, bud'); sterp, stearpă 'barren,barren ewe' (shterp,ë, id. and 'barren cow'); strîmb 'crooked' (shtrêmb, id.); sul 'roller, weaver's beam' (shul 'cylinder, roller'); șut, cf. ciut above; tine 'thee'(tinë,id.); țap 'he-goat'(cap, cjap,id.); țarc 'enclosure' (thark,id. and 'silo'); țeapă, țapă 'thorn, spit'(thep 'tip, peak, crag, point'); țîță 'nipple' (thithë, besides cicë from Slavonic, id.); ue 'buzzard' (iv,id.); urdă 'cottage cheese' (hurdhë,id.); val 'wave'(valë,id.); văr, f: vară 'cousin' (cf. vlla'brother');văpae 'glow, passion'(cf. vapë 'heatwave'); vièzure 'badger' (vjédhullë, vjédullë,id) zară 'buttermilk', zer 'whey' (dhallë 'buttermilk'); zăbală 'bridle-bit' (?dhëmballë 'molar tooth'); zînă 'fairy' (zanë,id.).

Rumanian and Albanian also share a number of words that appear to be of Romance origin by reason of their phonology, but which cannot be reliably traced to a Latin background. Such are codru 'wood' (kodër'hill') beside the Illyrian place-name Scodra, modern Shkodër; scul 'strand of thread' (shkul 'skein') ; pétec 'rag, patch' (petk 'jacket'. Cf.Blg.petek, gen.sg. petki 'rag', LLat. petacium > Sp. pedazo, Port. pedaço, OFr. pieche, Eng. patch); scrum,'burnt, charred matter' (shkrumb,id.cf. Blg. skrum, škrum,id.); gușă 'craw, crop' (Alb. gushë,id. cf. Blg. guša,id. & LLat. geusiae,id.); some of these have been listed above as possibly of substrate origin. Other Albanian terms that seem to derive from a form of submerged Balkan Latin are shpellë 'cave', shkâmb 'rock', karpë, id., cf. Blg. karpa,id.; kúmbullë 'plum',cf. Blg. kúmbula 'kind of plum',etc. A few words that point to a Daco-Thracian background occur in Bulgarian, but may have entered that language through Rumanian mediation. The Albanian word çap 'step' is reflected even in Rhaeto-Rumansh tsap, id. and in Moravian čapa 'foot' ! Words common to Albanian and Bulgarian are listed below.

DACO-ALBANIAN IN BULGARIAN

The identity of the words common to Bulgarian and Albanian is difficult to establish with any certainty. The fact that two words (bárzav 'grey', zíra 'whey') display -z- for Albanian -dh- suggests that the substrate language was one in which IE $^{+}$ĝ was represented by a dental. Territorially speaking this should have been Thracian, but there is a possibility , even a probability, that these and other words have spread into Bulgarian by borrowing. In the list that follows a few words may be localized Slavonic (confirmed by reference to Old Church Slavonic or Serbian), but those which are peculiar to Bulgarian are deemed to be of substrate origin, whether local, or by diffusion from Dacia (Rumania). Such a Slavonic word is Bulgarian pilé 'chick' : Serbian pile : loanword in Albanian pile, id. with cognates as far afield as Lithuanian (pylis). The following words are common to Bulgarian and Albanian, with an occasional cognate form in Rumanian.

Bárzav 'grey' (i bardhë 'white'); bútur 'adenoid' (butër 'strangles'); buza 'lip' (buzë, id.); cap 'clothes-hanger', lit. 'goat' (cap 'he-goat') ; guša 'throat, crop' (gushë, id.); karpa 'rock' (karpë, id. but cf. Rhaeto-Rumansh crap 'stone', crapa 'rocks' and Alb. krep); kúmbula 'kind of plum' (kúmbullë, id. said to be Gk. cf. kokkúmēlon, id.); ómala 'sultriness' (ámull 'stagnant'); páte 'duckling' (patë 'goose'); plisa 'plush' (plis, m. 'felt') ; rămbul 'broken jug' (rrúmbull 'round' ?); skrum, škrum 'burnt, charred matter' (shkrumb, id.); šátka, šática 'duck' (shotë, id.); šuk 'a ball game' (shuk 'ball'); šut 'hornless' (shyt, id.); urda, hurda 'cottage cheese' (hurdhë, id.); zíra 'whey' (dhallë 'buttermilk'); zómba 'marking on sheep's ear' (?dhâmb 'tooth').

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The above words do not include those which are common to Albanian and Bulgarian as independent Indo-European languages, such as Alb. dhâmb and Bulg. zăb 'tooth' : Skt. jámbhaḥ : Gk. gómphos, etc. Nor does it take into account words of common 'Balkan' provenience, many of which recur in modern Greek, some of them "demotic", i.e. of an indeterminate Balkan character (cf. Kr. Sandfeld, Linguistique Balkanique,1930, and N.P.Andriōtē, Etymologiko Lexiko tēs koinēs Neoellēnikēs, Athens, 1951).One such "Balkan" word is Serbian *raca* 'duck' which reapppears in Albanian as rosë,id. with a masculine form rosâ, gen.sg. rosâni, beside rosak 'drake'.

MODERN PLACE-NAMES

Place-names in modern Albania and the surrounding country do not shed a great deal of light on the linguistic character of ancient Illyricum or Epirus, nor do they elucidate the crucial question of satəmism.So diversified are modern place-names that they merely bear witness to that country's many occupations by foreign powers. Some are Greek, or reflect a Greek phonology (Durrës, Pojani, Voskopojë, Sarandë, Peshkopí, Këlcyrë), Latin (Gjinokastër, Shkodër, Shkumbini, Shëngjin)orSlavonic(Berat,Pogradec, Korçë), while others seem to reflect Illyrian originals: *Drini* (cf. Drinus), *Ishëm*, def. *Ishmi*(cf. Issamnus), *Lushnja* (cf. Leusinium), *Leshi* (cf. Lissus),etc.

LITERARY DOCUMENTS.

Dom Gjon Buzuk (or Buzuku) is the author of a Liturgy dated 1555, a work written in a composite alphabet based on Italian, with some additional non-traditional characters of uncertain origin, and believed to be the first printed book in Albanian.

Printed in double columns of blackletter type it survives in a single imperfect copy in the Vatican Library (R.G.Liturgia,III,194). In its original form it consisted of 188 pages, numbered by sheets. The extant defective copy lacks sheets 1-7, 27-29, 33-36 and sheet 63.The ninth sheet is misnumbered 10, shortening the pagination by two pages throughout.

Buzuk wrote his Liturgy between the years 1554 and 1555 when he was bishop of two sees, one of them being that of Scutari in N.Albania. A unique document of 16th century Albanian, it has recently become the subject of intensive research both inside and outside Albania. A critical edition has been published by Martin Camaj under the title Il Messale di Gjon Buzuku. Contributi linguistici allo studio della genesi (Rome,1960), and another has appeared in Tirana entitled Meshari i Gjon Buzukut,Botim Kritik, edited by Eqrem Çabej (1968). The vocabulary of Buzuk's Liturgy has been extracted by S.E.Mann, Historical Albanian and English Dictionary, 1938-48, and by K.Ashta in Leksiku i plotë i veprës së Gjon Buzukut (1555), Scutari, 1955. Of particular value since they can be checked with the original version are the long scriptural extracts with which the prayers of the Liturgy are interspersed. These are taken from the Pentateuch, the Book of Kings, Ezekiel, Daniel, Esther, Job,the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Jonah, Amos, Hosea, Malachi and Zacharia, the Gospels, the Epistles, and the Book of Revelation. Of the apocryphal books,Esdras, Joel, Baruch and Maccabees are represented, and there are long extracts from the Wisdom of Solomon.

The Liturgy is written in a composite dialect to make it intelligible over his large northern diocese, but it is hard to believe Buzuk's assertion in the Postscript that 'it is the first work in our language, and very difficult to perform', since the writer uses a composite spelling made up of Italian letters mingled with several archaic signs to represent peculiar Albanian sounds. Perhaps he was reviving a literary tradition that had lapsed into disuse. But as a printed work it may be the first of its kind.

Buzuk's spelling is marred by ambiguity and inconsistency, and it is sometimes difficult to decide what his signs represent. An *h* indicates not only the traditional aspirate; it is also used to show that the accompanying vowel is short, as in *hi madh* (= *i madh* 'great'), *aih* (=*ai*'he) But this usage is not followed consistently. Thus on Page 9b Buzuk has both *bire* and *bireh* 'son' (for which Kristoforidhi, in his New Testament translation of 1872 done in phonetics, shows a long vowel *bīr*). The long vowel is indicated sporadically by Buzuk, who writes on page 50a both *biirih* and *biri* 'the son'. Ambiguity arises when Buzuk uses the h-sign also to indicate modern Albanian *ë* (shva or e-mute, as in *teh* = *të*), a sound that was not specifically represented until 1685 in the Cuneus Prophetarum of Bogdani, who represented it *è*. Moreover Buzuk does not distinguish *s* from *sh*, *c* (ts) from *x* (dz), th from dh, and *q* (ḱ) from *gj* (ǵ), but long vowels are indicated sporadically by doubling. The vowel *y* (ü) has no separate symbol, being sometimes represented by *u*,*uu* as in the word *kruq* (*kryq* 'cross') , *tuu* (*ty* 'thee'), sometimes by *ui* as in *fruit* (*fryt* 'fruit'), *i uine* (*i ynë* 'our'). A broken vowel, represented as *uo*, indicates a pronunciation that was obsolete by the second half of the following century. Nasal vowels, characteristic of the Geg dialects, are occasionally represented by -*n*- as in *anst* (*âsht* 'is'), *manz*(*mâz*'foal'), but are not indicated in infinitives of type meh baam (me bâ 'to do'). It is not certain what Buzuk meant by the symbol *ȣ* (the medieval character representing Greek ou). He uses it where modern Albanian has *u*, as in ȣ, modern *u*-, the reflexive particle, *ȣie*, modern *ujë* 'water', astȣ, modern *ashtú* 'thus', and in the name Iesȣ 'Jesus'. It is hard to believe that it represents a closed ô, since this is already implicit in Buzuk's spelling of *ordhen*, modern *urdhën* 'order', *condra*, modern *kundra* 'against' , and *orate*, modern *uratë* 'prayer', Latin loanwords with Romance parallels. Nor is it certain what Buzuk meant by the spelling *caphse*, modern *kafshë* 'thing' (from Latin causa), but it could conceivably represent a sound like Scottish wh.

Albanian isolation from the mainstream of Indo-European linguistics is both its strength and its weakness; strength, in that being unique, with no closer kin than Latin, Slavonic and Greek, Albanian provides linguistic data not to be found elsewhere; weakness, in that parallels for obscure words are often wanting, especially when they are not to be found in the later language. The fact that Buzuk's Albanian preserves prototype *l* after *k* and *g*, where modern Albanian has the palatals *q* and *gj*, is of special interest, but the feature is shared by the Albanian dialects of Greece. Before a following -*i*- the prototype clusters *kl*- and *gl*- appear as *k*- (*kishë* 'church') and *g*- (*gisht*'finger').

Latin loanwords, often broken down almost beyond recognition in modern Albanian, display in Buzuk forms that are noticeably nearer the prototype. Such is endiglonj 'I understand, obey' (cf. Lat. intelligō) & modern Albanian *ndëgjoj*; *i dërejtë* 'right' (cf. Lat. directus), and modern *i drejtë*, id. But it is the obsolete terms that naturally arouse the greatest curiosity. Such are the verbs *runa*, 3sg. *ru* 'ran, flowed', *u-ij* 'he went', *kuat* 'sin', *i kuatënuom* 'sinful'. Buzuk's word *gjellë* 'life' is in modern Albanian 'food, dish', but retains the earlier meaning in the dialects of Sicily and Calabria. *Verë* 'spring' is modern 'summer', *i shtuom* 'standing' is now 'increased' (except in the Tosk adverb *shtuar* in the sense of 'rearing, upright'). Buzuk's loanword *regj* 'king' has been replaced by another loanword *mbret* 'king' (cf. Rum. împărat 'emperor') . The word *botë* 'time' now means 'world', and goes back to a prototype IE $^{+}$bhāt-, cf. Skt. bhātiḥ 'brightness, light' (for the sense cf. Rum. lume 'world' in relation to Lat. lūmen 'light').

With its vocabulary of some 2700 words, and its archaic grammar, the Liturgy of Gjon Buzuk is of prime importance both as background to Albanian etymology, and as a source for archaic grammar. Obsolete instances of the IE athematic conjugation occur, such *me thashunë* 'to say' cf. Skt. (reduced) śiṣ(-taḥ) as well as a number of obsolete participles in -*t*, such as *tue klatë* 'weeping', beside *me klanë* 'to weep', a word related to Gk. klaíō, future: klaúsomai. The obsolete forms *me pitë* 'to drink', and *me përpitë* 'to swallow' reflect IE prototypes $^{+}$pītós, $^{+}$propītós, paralleled in Skt. pītáḥ and Old Church Slavonic pitŭ, propitŭ. The t-participle otherwise survives in Italo-Albanian *ratë* 'fallen', from IE $^{+}$routós, cf. Lat. rutus, and in the Scutarine phrase *âsht ratë* 'he is lying down'. The modern adjective *i thatë* 'dry' derives from a one-time participle of this type. It represents an extension of *thaj* 'I dry' and is cognate with Gk. kautós beside kaustós 'parched'. Buzuk's variant past participles, some in -*m*, others in -*n*, represent a stage of development in which there was variant stressing. Cf. *me glaam* 'to resemble' and me *glanë* 'to happen' which reflect the IE participle in $^{+}$-meno-/-mn̥o-, the first with penultimate, the second with final stressing, as in the loanwords *dâm*, T *dëm* 'harm' (from Lat. dámnum), as compared to *dënój* 'I condemn' (from Latin damnáre).

An interesting source of collateral evidence is the Albanian language as spoken by the refugees from Turkish rule in 1468 and their descendants in Southern Italy, Sicily and Greece. The Sicilian-Albanian L. Matranga (1560-1619) is the author of a translation of The Christian Doctrine, a work by Father Ledesma, a Jesuit priest. It represents an early form of the Tosk dialect in which original palatal -*l*- is preserved when iotacised (as in *ndëljesë* 'forgiveness', modern mainland Albanian *ndjesë*, fr. Lat. indulgentia); the 1st. person plural of the athematic present in $^{+}$-mi extends to other verbs; and the infinitive relic, otherwise used only as a participle, ends in -*m* instead of mainland Tosk -*r* in verbs with a diathematic vowel (*gëzuam* 'cheered', T *gëzuar*, G *gëzuem*). The 1st. sing. present form of this verb is *gëzonj*, mainland Albanian *gëzoj*, from Latin $^{+}$gaudiare, for gaudēre. Some differences of vocabulary occur, such as the verb *gjegjënj* 'I hear, understand, obey' for mainland *ndëgjoj*; *gjellë* 'life', *gjellínj* 'I live' for mainland *jetë*, *jetoj*; *lipisí* 'mercy' for mainland *mëshirë*; *haré* 'joy' for mainland *gëzim*; *hajdhí* 'joy'; *arbëresh* 'Albanian' for mainland '*shqiptar*'; *çë*,cj. 'that' for mainland *që*,*qi* ; *nëng* 'not' for *nuk*; as well as many interesting words of IE origin not to be found in standard Albanian, such as *qéllënj* 'I bring': Lith. kelti ; *silë* 'brilliance, shine', from a type $^{+}$k̂uilis, and a number of variant spellings, such as *nestër*, for *nesër* 'tomorrow', with IE connexions. See below: Adverbs). The dialect represented by Matranga and his successors abounds in borrowings from Greek and Latin, but Turkish elements are absent.

Pjetër Budi (1566-1623) was born in the Mati country of central Albania. A priest and missionary trained in Italy, he was the author of a Christian Doctrine (1618), a religious treatise Speculum confessionis in

Epiroticam linguam, surviving in a unique copy at the Mazarine Library in Paris. A third work entitled The Roman Ritual (1621) is a description of the Roman calendar with a litany in Latin and a commentary in Albanian. A poem in The Christian Doctrine is thought to be the first example of verse in the Geg dialect. Budi's language retains the archaic broken vowel -uo- of Buzuk's Liturgy, and contains a few archaic words not to be found elsewhere, such as magullonj 'move, stir' or sim.

An interesting departure from the mainstream of Albanian writing is a Latin and Albanian dictionary by Fran Bardhi, or"Blanchus" (1606-1643). Dated 1635 it is a source of several archaic terms, some obsolete,though the spelling is inconsistent, and like that of Buzuk, at times ambiguous. Bardhi was born at Kallmeti, south of Scutari, and his language represents a more advanced stage than that of either Buzuk or Budi, in which the broken vowel is represented -ue-, not -uo-. In modern Albanian this vowel is widely pronounced as a long u, but is still heard as -ue- in NE Geg. The vowel is represented in Tosk universally as -ua-.

Pjetër Bogdani (1630-1688) was born near Prizrend, now in lower Kosmet, the Albanian-speaking republic of Yugoslavia. This fact makes Bogdani's only known work, the Cuneus prophetarum de Christo Salvatore Mundi (1685), of peculiar interest. Its title somewhat belies its contents. Written in exile it bears the marks of desultory craftsmanship. It is in two parts, and is interspersed with engravings, digressions on astronomy and rudimentary chemistry, and contains some scraps of Balkan geography. The second part is of a religious character. Since Bogdani became Bishop of Scutari in 1656, he strove to write in a compromise dialect suitable both for his own flock at Prizrend and for the people of Scutari,a fact which lessens the book's value as a linguistic record. Anxious to preserve the Albanian language against the encroachments of the Turks, he used an untried and hence unpolished style incorporating obsolescent or obsolete words from different dialects. His spelling was largely his own invention, and he had difficulty in finding a publisher. But for the help of an old friend and patron Bishop Gregory Barbarigo, the book might never have been published. It appeared in Padua, and was reprinted in Venice in 1691.

A small Greek-Albanian Dictionary, written at the instance of Pouqueville, a French consul at Yanina, is an interesting record of the kind of Albanian spoken in the frontier areas of Greece. Heavily penetrated with Greek forms, it represents a dialect of Tosk that preserves -l- in all positions, cf. *glisht* 'finger', *klishë* 'church' and *golë* 'mouth', *e bilë* for standard Albanian *gisht*, *kishë*, *gojë*, *e bijë*. Its author, M. Boçari, was a famous patriot of the War of Independence. The original work, now bound in leather, is in the Paris National Library, and is dated 1809.

The Geg dialect of Elbasan, one of the best preserved, is represented in the work of K.Kristoforidhi.His Bible translations (1872-1879) showed vowel-length for the first time.

HISTORY OF ALBANIAN RESEARCH

In 1809 and 1810 J.C.Hobhouse accompanied Lord Byron in a journey, during which they visited Albania, Greece and Western Turkey.In the course of their travels Hobhouse met several Albanians who did their best to explain their language to him. As Albanian was an unwritten language,he eked out his records with notes from an imperfect Albanian Grammar by F. M. da Lecce, published in Rome on behalf of the Propaganda Fede. To this he added some observations of his own on the Albanian dialects he heard spoken in Greece. Of these he wrote in A Journey Through Albania (Vol.II, p. 1126) "I had collected with considerable pains a vocabulary of the Albanian spoken by the peasants of Attica, and should have given it a place in this Appendix if the Grammar of da Lecce had not fallen in my way. From comparing the two specimens I find the language of the Attic and Epirote Arnaut (Albanian) to be the same, although with a certain discrepancy, which may be well attributed to the variety of its dialects and to the different impressions which it has received in the many regions inhabited by this dispersed people." The whereabouts of the vocabulary is unknown. A cultured traveller with an intellectual's interest in foreign peoples and their ways, Hobhouse drew no further conclusions from his study of Albanian than to observe that "in the naked Arnaut may be discerned the visible remains of an ancient language that no longer exists" but in this he was quoting the Histoire de l'Académie Royale des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres (vol.18,p.69).

The first to realize the wider extensions of Albanian as an Indo-European language was J.R.Xylander, who in Die Sprache der Albanesen o-der Schipetaren, Frankfort, 1835, set out the grammar of the language as he found it in Kavalliotis and the extant Bible translation, adding an introduction to show that Albanian was Indo-European. He made the observation that Albanian initial gj- was the equivalent of Latin s- & Greek h-(as in *gjumë* 'sleep', Lat. somnus, Gk. húpnos).

But it was to the great founder of Indo-European comparative grammar **Franz** Bopp(1791-1867) that linguists owed their first introduction to the wider connexions of Albanian, a subject that had been neglected rather through lack of written documents than through lack of interest. Bopp discovered Albanian too late to include it in his great Comparative Grammar of 1833, which ran into several editions, none of which included Albanian.

On February 23rd 1843 Bopp read a dissertation to an unnamed audience on the subject of Albanian numerals and pronouns. Relying on the inadequate grammar of da Lecce for the Geg or northern dialect of Albanian, and Von Hahn's Albanian Studies (1854) for the Tosk, or southern dialect, with occasional references to Bardhi's Latin & Albanian Dictionary (1635), and Xylander's Language of the Albanians (1835), he demonstrated in a quarto volume of 92 pages that Albanian was decidedly Indo-European. A Sanskrit fundamentalist, he did not think Albanian was closely related to, or descended from, any of the other Indo-European languages.

Bopp's *On Albanian in its Ties of Relationship* (Über das Albanesische in seinen verwandschaftlichen Beziehungen) was read before the Prussian Academy of Sciences on May 18th, 1854, and was published in the following year. It is the first attempt at a comparative study of Albanian with other languages, notably Sanskrit. Hampered by the lack of a written norm, and having to rely on inaccurate records, Bopp was able to see that Albanian was not a descendant of Greek,as he at first thought, but had closer links with Sanskrit, which he regarded as the parent language of Indo-European. Not only could Albanian *gjashtë*'six' not be derived from Gk. hex, but the -*të* extensions of *shtatë* 'seven' and *tetë* 'eight', *dhietë* 'ten', and -*dë* in *nândë* were not characteristic of Greek either. He saw iotacism as a feature shared(in part) with Slavonic (*jam* 'I am' : OCS jesmĭ). He equated Alb. *natë* 'night' with

Lithuanian naktìs and German Nacht, but saw in the vowel -a- the"original"Indo-European vowel of Sanskrit nak-, regarding Slavonic and Latin -o- of nošť : nox as degenerations! Bopp was the first to link Albanian *vjet*, *vit* 'year' with both Greek étos and Skt. vatsáḥ 'calf', lit. "yearling" , an extension of the prototype form which he also discovered in Albanian *viç* 'calf'. On observing that "the pronoun *ju* 'you' is a word of widespread occurrence not present in Latin" he remarked that the fact " baffled those who would make of Albanian a kind of Romance language".

The heavily Romanized character of Albanian, with striking parallels in Rumanian, did not extend either to the grammar of Albanian,nor to its pronominal system, as Bopp proceeded to demonstrate. In the suffixed article Bopp saw a reflex of the Gothic demonstrative pronoun *is*, the Slavonic attributive suffix -*ĭj*, and the "definite" Lithuanian suffix -*is* (cf. OCS nov-yj : Lith. naujas-is). In *kush* 'who' Bopp saw a reflex of Skt. kas and Gothic hvas (though it is probably to be regarded as a compound formula in view of the final consonant). In the genitive-dative inflexion of the pronouns *këtij*, *atij* and *kuj* (of,to this, that, whom) he recognized the IE pronominal declension as distinct from the noun-declension inflexion in -*i*, and identified it with the ending of Skt. -sya-, Latin -ius (as in huius). He illustrated the oblique form *tuej* 'thy' by comparison with Avestan θwa-hyā.

In the verbs *janë* 'they are' and *kanë* 'they have' Bopp recognized a lowered variant of *je* brought about by the loss of -t- (cf.Dor. entí 'they are'). Listing the Albanian sigmatic aorists *rashë* 'I fell, I struck', *lashë* 'I let', *pashë* 'I saw', *dhashë* 'I gave', *thashë* 'I said', *qeshë* 'I was' and *patshë* 'I had' he realized their Indo-European implications (cf. Gk. -sa, Arm. -c̣i, Sanskrit -ṣam, Slavonic -xŭ), but mistakenly thought it was a relic of the root ⁺es- 'to be'. He equated the remaining forms of the singular (somewhat eclectically) with those of the open radicals of Greek (*dhe*,*dha* : édōs, édō), while identifying those of the Albanian closed radical (type *mplaka*, *mplake*, *mplaku* 'grew old') with the endings of Skt. ábudham, and Gk. éphugon,etc. In the aorists of type -*va*,-*ve*,-*u*, characteristic of many denominative verbs, Bopp saw reflexes of the Latin perfect, type amāvī, monuī, potuī,which he thought derived from the radical seen in Skt. bhū- 'to be', a theory now discarded (cf. however Sommer, Handbuch der lateinischen Laut- und Formenlehre, 1948, § 359, which still maintains this thesis, as against Sturtevant, Hittite Grammar, §§ 316-320, especially in relation to Hitt. +auhhi, uuhhi 'I see', and +auhhūn, uuhhūn 'I saw', and Mann, Armenian Historical Grammar, page 47).

On Albanian participles Bopp identified at least one (the archaic pp. -mun in ble-mun 'bought') with Skt. -māna-, Gk. -meno-, the anomalous endings of the Latin 2pl. passive -mini, and the archaic 1st. and 2nd. person singular imperative in -mino. But he was unable to explain the coexistence of participles like pasun 'had', blerë 'bought', and bdierrë 'lost'. It is still uncertain if the agent-suffix -s derives, as Bopp thought, from the IE present participle in +-nt-. He did however see in the adjective i plotë 'full' the relic of an IE t-participle as seen in Latin im-, com-plētus, a type which he linked with other adjectives ending in -t, -të, such as i urët 'hungry', i artë 'golden', i hékurtë 'iron', i gurët 'stone', i drunjtë 'wooden', etc.

In the extension -më of i tej-më 'ultimate', i këtej-më 'hither-', i prapëm 'rear', etc. he recognized the reflex of a Sanskrit superlative as seen in avamaḥ 'low', paščimaḥ 'subsequent'. In tjetër 'other' he saw a reflex of Vedic tya- 'this' + -taraḥ, a comparative suffix, but was unable to decide between this and Skt. tatarā́ḥ 'that of two'. (This represents an IE +toteros, correlative of +qu̯oteros, but the vowels e and o did not form part of Bopp's prototype phonology; he regarded them as secondary). He compared the Tosk variant jatër 'other' to Skt. yataraḥ 'which of two', and called ya- the relative pronominal stem.

Bopp rightly equated Albanian pa 'without', pa- 'un-, non-' with Skt. apa- as a privative prefix as in apa-bhīs 'fearless', and with Gk. apo- in apó-thrix 'hairless', Latin ab- in ab-normis 'abnormal', and Gothic af- in af-guþs 'godless'. In Albanian përvesh 'clothe, tuck up' he saw a cognate of Skt. parivas- 'change clothes' and Gk. periénnūmi 'wrap round' "from periu̯esnumi", and analysed Alb. (m)brênda 'within' as a compound containing the reflex of Gk. entós and Latin intus. In Alb. (nji) mijë '1000' and (nji) qind '100' he recognized Latin loanwords, but (mistakenly) thought Alb. qen 'dog' was inherited IE (it is Latin).

Bopp saw in the pronoun *a-jó*,f. 'she' a reflex of Skt. yā, and in a-tó, f.pl. 'they' a reflex of Skt. tās and Gothic þōs. These and other findings have been substantiated since his day.

The value of Bopp's comments on Albanian is lessened by the fanciful nature of some of his etymologies. Not only did he fail to recognize in reconstructed Indo-European a five-vowel system (a,e,i,o,u) as preserved in Greek, Latin and Celtic; he was not above equating Albanian p and Greek k (!), interchanging l and r, m and v, voiced consonants with unvoiced in a bewildering number of combinations in order to produce an etymology. Even so, in view of the scanty and often inaccurate nature of his source-material, Bopp deserves credit for having opened the way to a new field of linguistic inquiry.

Throughout the nineteenth century Albanian suffered from fragmentation, the lack of a national norm, or even a standard spelling, and the absence of a comprehensive dictionary. Against all these odds, August Schleicher was able to demonstrate the Indo-European character of Albanian in The Languages of Europe (Die Sprachen Europas, Bonn,1850) by referring to its system of declension and conjugation; G.Stier,in a monthly journal devoted to science (Allgemeine Monatsschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur,1854) analysed the numerals and the verb "to be"; and above all J.G.von Hahn, an Austrian consul stationed at Yanina, who made a collection of folktales accompanied by the largest vocabulary of Albanian so far recorded (about 4000 words). These were written in a spelling of his own devising, a necessity also forced upon Dh.Camarda (1821-1882), a Sicilian of Albanian speech, who attempted to launch a standard literary language in a spelling somewhat similar to that in use today. Tracing Albanian forms by a series of fanciful permutations from Greek, he attempted to give Albanian a wider linguistic extension without any reference to the German scholars. His Essay of Comparative Grammar on the Albanian Language (Saggio di grammatologia comparata sulla lingua albanese, Leghorn,1864) is therefore little more than a linguistic curiosity. The prolific Slavonic scholar Franz Miklošich, author of the great Old Church Slavonic Dictionary (Vienna, 1862-1865) , utilized the increasing corpus of Albanian material to compile long lists of loanwords, and so illustrated the curious interpenetration of the Balkan languages that fascinated Gustav Meyer and Kristian Sandfeld years later. Miklošich however failed to apply the strict rules of analysis he had displayed elsewhere to that part of the Albanian vocabulary that derives from Italic sources. The question as to which dialect or dialects of Italy form the basis of the loanword vocabulary of Albanian,(a considerable number of words,most of which have their counterpart in Rumanian),has never been satisfactorily answered. It is certainly not exclusively the Latin of Rome. The vowel quantities of Balkan Latin do not always agree with those of Classical Latin, and the conjugation frequently varies from the Classical norm.In Albanisches und Romanisches (Kuhn's Zeitschrift, 20,240-302) the German comparativist Hugo Schuchardt (1842-1927), a pupil of Schleicher, differentiated early Italic borrowings from late innovations. A wide-ranging linguist, he is best remembered for his three volume work The Vocalism of Late Latin (1866-8).

So far the meagre attempts at historical grammar, hampered by inadequate documentation, foundered on the lack of a systematic phonology , without which any plausible interpretation of grammar in perspective is futile. Gustav Meyer, the outstanding albanologist of the last century, set himself the stupendous task of collecting texts and recording words from all the known literary sources, to which he added a mass of material collected by him on his travels to Italy, Sicily, Greece and Turkey. The fruit of his researches is contained in five slim volumes entitled Albanian Studies (Albanesische Studien), dated between 1883 and 1896, a short article in Bezzenbergers Beiträge (VIII,3,1883) on The Position of Albanian within the Orbit of the Indo-European Languages (Die Stellung des Albanesischen im Kreise der indogermanischen Sprachen),an outline grammar (Kurzgefasste albanesische Grammatik) dated 1888, and above all an etymological dictionary (Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache),1891.

This formidable output, based on a much larger body of material than was available to his predecessors, and subjected to the strict phonological rules propagated by Osthoff and the other neogrammarians of the 1870s, made Meyer the founder of Albanian linguistics. Since the time of Bopp the focus of Indo-European had shifted from India to Europe;

no longer did Sanskrit, with its inadequate three-vowel scale, dominate the thinking of European linguists. A broader phonological scheme was created to accommodate the five-vowel systems of Greek, Latin and Celtic, together with a sixth vowel shva (ə) to explain the occurrence of Latin a, Greek a and Sanskrit i in a reduced syllable. A palatal triad of consonants, known as the k̂- or satəm triad, was recognized to have existed alongside a labiovelar, or q-triad. Aspirated consonants (bh, dh, gh, etc.) were postulated for parent Indo-European as well as unaspirated (b,d,g,etc.). For the first time a phonological scheme existed that was both large enough and scientific enough to be applied to all the known Indo-European languages, including Albanian.

Meyer's phonology follows modern practice. Ignoring the existence of the q-triad, a fault which he subsequently corrected, Meyer indicated the Albanian reflexes of IE $^+$a,e,i,o,u, both long and short (but omitted $^+$ə), postulated an IE vocalic liquid in the words *ulk*,*ujk* 'wolf', and *krimb* 'worm', pointed out the combinative reflexes of IE $^+$sk (Alb. *h*) and IE $^+$st (Alb. *sht*), but not IE $^+$sp (Alb. *f*), realised, as Bopp had failed to do, that Albanian internal and final *sh* descended from IE $^+$si̯, but, surprisingly, continued to confuse IE $^+$l with IE $^+$r! This incomprehension remained with Meyer throughout life, and lessened the validity of some of his etymologies, many of which were remarkable for their acuity. His greatest failing, however, was his inability to discover a consistent formula for IE initial $^+$s when followed by a vowel. The widely different reflexes given to this phoneme under *thi* 'pig' , *hjek* 'pull', *shurrë* 'urine', *sonte* 'tonight', *gjarpër* 'snake', *shi* 'rain', *et* 'thirst', and *kot* 'in vain' testify to the uncertainty with which Meyer approached this aspect of Albanian phonology, but it must be said that the problem still exists, especially in regard to *hjek* (variant *heq*, aorist: *hoqa*), and *shof*, variant *shoh* 'I see'. Neither Illyrian proper names, nor Rumanian parallels throw any light on this problem.

Meyer's greatest contribution to Albanian linguistics was his identification of loanwords. Utilizing the latest techniques of the Romance School, and especially the work of Schuchardt and Ascoli, Meyer applied his ingenuity to the reconstruction of "lost" Latinisms in Albanian with a zest that sometimes transcended the bounds of probability. Some of his "Latinisms" inevitably remind one of the fantasies of the French linguists, whose language, like Rumanian, and the Latin element of Albanian, is afflicted by an unbridgeable gap representing a period of several centuries, during which time the popular, or vernacular, form of Romance was ignored. (Dauzat's convoiter from "con-cupidietare", and tuer from tutari (!) are paralleled by Meyer's guesses: shkoj 'go' from Latin sequor, çoj 'send, take' from Latin excitare, and many more that Meyer himself repudiated later).

The immensity of the task that Meyer set himself, that of collector and interpreter, should not be overlooked. In the intervening period between "Die Stellung" and the etymological dictionary Meyer added considerably to his knowledge of the IE aspect of Albanian phonology. In gjerb 'sup' he recognized IE $^{+}$b, a phoneme that had so far remained undiscovered, and recognized the iotacized reflexes of IE $^{+}$ti̯ and $^{+}$di̯ (at least by implication, since these combinations were recognized in the Latin loanwords nuse 'daughter-in-law' from nuptiae, and rreze 'ray' fr. radius).

The remainder of Meyer's Albanian researches confirm or amplify his first contribution to Bezzenbergers Beiträge. In five slim volumes, dated 1883 to 1896 and published under the general title Albanesische Studien, Meyer records his indebtedness to Miklošich's three studies: I. The Slavonic Elements in Albanian (1870), II. The Romance Elements in Albanian (1871), and III. The Form of Borrowed Verbs in Albanian and certain other Languages (1871). They were published as Albanian Studies.

In his first "Study" , Meyer describes the confusion of spelling and the absence of a standard norm for a language separated by dialect and geography, and echoed Hübschmann, the Armenian scholar, who in a work entitled The Transcription of Iranian and Armenian (1882) regretted the fact that Lepsius's Universal Phonetic Alphabet had not been recognized by all scholars as the ideal mould in which to record all forms of unwritten speech. Plural-formations are assembled here, but no attempt is made to interpret them in Indo-European terms. Instead of this, nouns are given etymologies which are largely untenable, and sometimes fantastic, such as the equation of the Albanian loanword i mirë 'good' (Lat.

mīrus) with Old Church Slavonic milŭ 'kind, dear': Lith. meilùs,id.!

The second volume is an analysis of the Albanian numerals, with some additions on Albanian phonology. The third volume is the most ambitious. Its title is The Phonology of the Indo-European Components of Albanian. Dated 1892 it followed the publication of his Etymological Dictionary , and is important both as a supplement and a corrective to this. In its essentials, however, it is no more than an expansion of his article in BB "Die Stellung...", with greater attention to the compound phonemes that were absent from his first outline. The IE semivowels +l̥ and +r̥ (but not +m̥ and +n̥) are given individual treatment, and greater attention is paid to the IE diphthongs. His IE reconstructions show signs of greater accuracy, especially as he had at last realized the separate existence of a q-triad in IE. But he never discovered, as the Danish linguist Holger Pedersen did years later, that the IE labiovelars underwent a peculiar change (to *s* in *siell* 'bring', from IE +qu̯el-, otherwise to *z*, as in *zjarm*, *zjarr* 'fire' , from IE +gu̯herm-). Yet even at this late date, and despite the publication of Brugmann's Grundriss, a work which firmly placed parent IE within a European pattern, Meyer still confused Albanian l with r. Bopp's Sanskrit fundamentalism still lingered on, and even Hübschmann, the Armenian scholar, was not entirely free from it. All the same, as Meyer himself says,the Phonology of 1892 is "fuller and more reliable" than his first outline of 1883, and contained "several improvements and modifications" to the Dictionary.

Despite Meyer's failure to recognize a reflex of the labiovelars in *zjarr* 'fire', *zorrë* 'entrails' and *zog* 'bird' (A.S.III,18) he was one of the first to point out the duality of initial yot in both Albanian and Greek, and found a plausible etymology for *ngjesh* 'gird', which he traced from a prototype +en-i̯ōsi̯ō, radical in Gk. zṓsō 'shall gird',and Lithuanian juosiu 'gird'.

Meyer's fourth volume (1895) is devoted to an analysis of two eighteenth-century Albanian writers. Both were bilingual, both wrote their work in Greek. The first was entitled Eisagōgikē didaskalía (Primer)by Daniel, the other a Greek-Rumanian-Albanian glossary that fell into the writer's hands after a long search. Entitled the Prōtopeiría (Elementary Outline) of Theodore Anastasius Kavalliotis of Voskopojë,it is dated 1770. It was intended as a school primer, and has a strong religious motif. Meyer published this vocabulary, adding a German translation to each word, and making an occasional reference to etymology. Despite the care Meyer lavished on this insignificant and inaccurate work, it adds little to existing knowledge of Albanian, except to put on record the little-known dialect of Voskopojë (Moschopolis), a small town near the Greek border, famous for the possession of an early printing-press.

To remedy the lack of an adequate Albanian dictionary Meyer continued to collect Albanian texts, some of them written specially for him by natives who were literate in some other language than their own. Unphonetically written in a Greek or Italian script, they furnished Meyer with much-needed information on Albanian idiom and syntax. In Volume V of A.S. (1896) Meyer reproduced a number of such texts collected from the Albanian colonies living in the Greek islands of Poros, Spetsa and Hydra. These colonies, descendants of the refugees from the Turkish invasion of the fifteenth century, provided the Greek navy with many of its crews, and fought alongside the Greeks in their struggle for national independence.

In 1834 K.H.T.Reinhold, a German scholar from Göttingen, became physician to the Greek army and navy, and made his home in Greece. Here he found time to study local customs and antiquities, and in the course of time he became aware of the Albanian colonies that existed near Athens and on several of the islands. He saw in them descendants of the Pelasgians.They became his chief interest, and,prompted by von Hahn's Albanian Studies, he wrote a work entitled Noctes Pelasgicae (1855),consisting of a grammar, a vocabulary, and an anthology. A revised edition of this work was never realized; a manuscript of the projected second edition, with an amplified grammar and vocabulary, prose passages, folktales and dialogues, was left to his nephew at his death. This fell into Meyer's hands, and formed the bulk of Volume V of the Studies. The new words and etymologies in this volume have never been incorporated in Meyer's etymological dictionary, and are therefore to be regarded as a valuable supplement.

In 1888 Meyer published an outline Grammar of Albanian, using Lepsius's phonetics as Kristoforidhi had done when translating the New

Testament. By excerpting this and other works Meyer found enough material to produce a grammar that is a model of precision, analytical acumen, and systematic tabulation. In its compilation he was helped by Th. Mitko, an Albanian exile living in Egypt, who had made a collection of folktales and proverbs. Mitko supplied the three folktales, written in his own dialect of Korça (Southern Albania), which form the supplement to the grammar. A projected Albanian grammar on more comprehensive lines was never achieved.

Where Meyer failed was in his vacillating attitude to etymology which was all too often based on guesswork. Equipped to an extraordinary degree with a knowledge of many Eastern European languages, which included Rumanian and Slavonic, and versed in Classical Latin, modern Romance and ancient and modern Greek, he was able to trace many Albanian words to their non-Albanian source. His Dictionary, despite its unrepresentative character, is still the only one in existence. In view of the chaotic state of recorded Albanian as it was in Meyer's day, it is hardly surprising that Meyer's Dictionary does not come up to the standard of contemporary works in other languages. It records only "5140 keywords", of which "1420 are Romance , 540 Slavonic, 1180 Turkish (!), 840 Modern Greek, and only 400 with more or less certainty of Indo-European origin." He found 730 more inexplicable. Exhausted by his work on the Dictionary, Meyer never achieved his aim of writing an Albanian historical grammar. The absence of a language closely parallel to Albanian, phonological obscurity, penetration with foreign elements, and the loss of much of the prehistoric grammatical pattern through levelling and stereotyping have combined to deter more than one scholar in this field. Whatever the defects of Meyer's interpretations, and they are many, it is to Meyer that scholars are chiefly indebted for having breached this intractable subject. A pioneer's mistakes are his successors' warnings , and it is a brave man who is willing to take the initiative, and thereby bring upon himself the bulk of the criticism.

The establishment of a national spelling at a congress held at Monastir (Bitolj) in 1908, and its adoption a year later, marked the beginning of a national literature. A complicated phonetic alphabet invented by Sami Frashëri, an Albanian patriot of Istanbul, in 1879, lingered on in the pages of Kalendari Kombiar (The National Calendar) till 1916. A rival alphabet based on Croat characters was propagated for a time by the Dawn Society (Agimi) but met with no success. Kristoforidhi's neat spelling in Lepsius's phonetics was forgotten. For better or worse, Albanian was now propagated in a printable spelling relying, like English, on consonantal pairs to represent non-Latin phonemes (sh,zh,th,dh,gj,nj) with the curious addition of q (mid-palatal k as heard in Greek and Turkish before front vowels), and x (dz), with xh (dž) to form an alphabet of 36 characters or double-characters. The vowel ë represents 'e-mute'.

Gustav Weigand, a Balkan scholar with interests in Greek and Bulgarian, became interested in a neglected field of Albanian research, the dialect of Tirana. Though this dialect failed to become the standard representative of Albanian as a whole, its recording added something to general knowledge of dialects, a pursuit that has borne fruitful results of recent years in the work of Cimochowski, Tagliavini, Mehmet Çeliku , Jorgji Gjinari, Eqrem Çabej, S. Riza , Martin Camaj, Klaus Haebler, and many more. As the centralized national norm continues to assert itself as a literary medium, dialectstend to be pushed out of existence, and it is therefore important to record them before they die out. This is particularly true of the outlying dialects of the Greek islands, Italy, Sicily, Çamëria (Epirus), and the language of Kosmet (Kosovo-Metohija), which has been saved from extinction by the activities of Prishtinë, the capital, where a university, a theatre, a journal and a daily newspaper organized by local patriots are keeping this important branch of Albanian alive. Weigand, with his Albanesische Grammatik (1913), and his Albanesisch-deutsches und Deutsch-albanesisches Wörterbuch, was a pioneer in the cause of rescuing dialect from oblivion. He was the author of several articles on Balkan languages in general. G.Pekmezi's Grammatik der albanischen Sprache (1908) served to consolidate the acceptable pattern, and was followed by others of a normative character.

Despite the publicity given to Norbert Jokl (1881?-1941) of the University of Vienna, this scholar's contributions to Albanian linguistics are considerably less than those of his predecessors. It is hard to see why his Linguistic-Cultural Historical Researches in the Field of Albanian (Linguistisch-kulturhistorische Untersuchungen aus dem Bereiche des Albanischen) has been so widely quoted. A much overrated work, it purports to illustrate culture from vocabulary, and ranges over custom, law and belief, house and household utensils, land and vegetation, animal husbandry, and fauna.

Though his residence in Albania was limited to a week or so in the mid-'thirties he acquired a sufficient knowledge of Albanian —from cab-drivers and other acquaintances in Vienna — to correct some of the more eccentric etymologies postulated by Meyer, whom he admired. Of his many writings, most were articles to the German linguistic journals, in particular Indogermanische Forschungen. Following the Danish scholar H. Pedersen, who published a number of Albanian texts and discovered several sound-laws, Jokl contented himself with outlining a history of Albanian research in Streitberg's Geschichte der Indogermanischen Sprachwissenschaft, II,3 (1917), and the above-mentioned Linguistic and Cultural Researches (1923). It is the latter work that is most frequently quoted.

Jokl's etymologies bear the stamp of the armchair linguist.The forms he quotes are often misspellings (shpesh for shpesë 'bird') or "ghost-words" (eshë 'period'). He misinterpreted or ignored traditional phonology (shembër), and in doing so set up a number of "etymologies" that are quite fanciful and unacceptable (gjysh 'grandfather' from an alleged prototype $^{+}$sūsi̯o-. Long IE $^{+}$ū produces Albanian i not y).Ever ready to criticize his contemporaries and predecessors (especially his Croat contemporary Barić), he substituted etymologies of his own that were even less acceptable, often lapsing into the type of "algebraism" that marked the work of the Gothenburg scholar Lidén, whom Jokl admired, and to whom the "Researches" are dedicated. It is surprising that Walde and Hofmann, joint authors of the famous Latin Etymological Dictionary,took him so seriously. On page 13 of "Researches" he dismisses Meyer's sound etymology of Albanian martoj 'marry' (from maritāre) for a fanciful one of his own based on a misspelling, citing two non-existent "ghostwords" "madhëtoj"and "gjendoj" as confirmation. Albanian qeth 'trim (hair)'cannot derive from "IE $^{+}$kert-" (the combinations -rt- and -rth- are common in Albanian, cf. i urtë 'wise', kurth 'trap', morth 'chilblain',etc.); it is from a prototype $^{+}$keik̂-/koik̂-, cf. Skt. keśaḥ 'long hair'; cognate with Lithuanian káišiu 'scrape, shave, trim'. Albanian krimb 'worm'does not derive from "IE kr̥mis" (pages 18 & 23) but from IE $^{+}$qu̯r̥mis. And so on. Polemics occupy a large part of this work, which cannot be regarded as authoritative, despite occasional insights.

A novel view was put forward in "Researches..." that the so-called "dacianisms" in Rumanian were borrowings from Albanian. This seems to be based on the notion that the Albanians were a wandering shepherd-folk like the Aromun tribes of more recent times.

Jokl's "Studies in Albanian Etymology" are full of the same kind of fantasies as his "Researches...". Albanian doke 'tradition' is equated not only with dukë 'appearance' but also with Lithuanian žvakē'candle'! (Doke equates with Gk. thēkē, radical $^{+}$dhē-, with further cognates in Skt. dhākaḥ (2)'receptacle': Latvian dēka 'adventure, happening'.A secondary meaning of doke('task, duty') confirms the equation . For dukë the verbal cognate is dúkem 'I appear', cognate with Gk. deúkō (Hes.)'look, heed, consider'. The word occurs in all Albanian dialects, and cannot therefore be regarded as a Greek loanword as S.Bugge thought). Jokl's confusion of zotóhem 'pledge myself' and coptoj 'break up' (p.79)is due to the careless handwriting of his informants. For alleged "špotūr" 'redeemer' (p.78) read shpëtues, and for "demnī" (p.80) read djemní. One cannot construct etymology out of misspellings and misprints.

Jokl's best service to Albanian linguistics was to bring this neglected language to public notice. He gave credit to Pedersen for discovering the source of Albanian initial s and z in siell, zjarr (KZ 36,277), but not to Treimer for explaining Albanian f as $^{+}$sp- as in ferrë 'thorn', farë 'seed'). He corrected Miklošich's excessive addiction to loanword etymology, a fault also in Meyer.

Whereas Meyer regarded Albanian as a half Romance mixture, Jokl, in common with his predecessors Schuchardt (1872), and O.Wiedemann,regarded it as predominantly Indo-European. There are pitfalls in either extreme. Misquoting breshkë 'tortoise' as "breshë" he plumped for an IE origin for this word. The word illustrates one of the cruxes of Albanian etymology: a dual phonology. Meyer's and Jokl's confusion of s and th as both reflecting IE $^{+}$k̂ is one. Another is the apparent double reflex of IE initial and internal $^{+}$sk. The expected, and generally acknowledged reflex of IE $^{+}$sk is *h* as in *ah* 'beech', cf. Gk. oxúa, id. and ON askr 'ash'; *halë* 'scale, pine-needle' , cf. Gk. skól-ops 'stake' and skól-umos 'thistle', beside skólos 'thorn': W ysgol 'peak': Cz. skolek 'splint, stake': R o-skól-ok 'splinter, chip': Lith. skala, id.: Latvian skals 'log, chip': OHG scala 'shell, scale'; *helm* 'poison, grief, bane', *helme* 'tick, mite': MHG schëlm, schëlme, beside schalm 'plague, corpse'. The variant IE cluster $^{+}$sk̂ is represented in Albanian *hir* 'grace': Goth. skeirs 'clear, bright' : Polish szczery 'honest, pure': Ukr. ščyryj 'sincere': Cz. čirý 'sheer, mere', and in Albanian reflexes of the IE inchoative-progressive verbs in $^{+}$-sk̂ō : *njoh* beside *njof* 'know', *beh* beside *bef* 'take by surprise', *leh* 'bark': Gk. laskō, etc.

A secondary reflex, however, is shk as in *dushk* 'oak', *bashkë* 'fleece' beside *bashkë* 'together', cf. Latin fascis and Hes. (Phrygian, Thracian, or Macedonian) baskeutaí 'bundles', baskioi 'bonds'; *shkozë* 'hornbeam', and *breshkë* 'tortoise', cf. Rumanian broască 'frog', broască ţestoasă 'tortoise'. Since these words cannot be explained as borrowings, there remains the problem of fitting them into the inherited phonology. The last word on the fate of IE $^{+}$s in Albanian has not been said.

Thracian, Dacian, or Illyrian?

The quest continues for a form of prototype speech that would provide Albanian scholars with a background of reference. The fruitless search for a Pelasgian origin still goes on; the latest addition to the literature on the subject is a work called **The Albanians and the Pelasgian Problem** (**Hoi Albanoi kai to pelasgikon problēma**, Gjinokastër, 1961). Confused references to these "barbarians" by Homer, Herodotus and Strabo, cited among others by Spiro Konta of Korçë in the above work, make no reference to the language, and even the names of their gods are unknown. Macedonians are variously referred to as "Hellenes" (Strabo) or "barbarians" (Demosthenes). Thracians are identified with the Getae by Strabo, but distinguished from each other by Thucydides. The Illyrians are identified with the Veneti by Herodotus, but are linked by others with Pannonians, Dalmatians and Dardanians. All this lore has been gathered together (for what it is worth) by L.Diefenbach in Origines Europeae; The Ancient Peoples of Europe with their Kin and Neighbours (in German, 1861). Perhaps it is best to quote again the words of Max Müller in Lectures on the Science of Language, Vol.I, 1882, p. 138: "It is lost labour to try to extract anything positive from the statements of the Greeks and Romans on the race and the language of their (the Greeks') barbarian neighbours". Of others who have pursued this quest Jokl lists G.W.Leibniz, J.Thunmann, C. Malte-Brun, F. Bopp, J. von Xylander, J. von Hahn, Aug. Schleicher, G.Stier, and A.F.Pott. Benloew's absurd Analyse de la langue albanaise (1879) is rightly dismissed as a curiosity. D. Camarda is rightly condemned for deriving Albanian from, or identifying Albanian with, Greek. Ethnic considerations are blended with linguistic in the work of S.Bugge (Bezzenbergers Beiträge 18), and in greater detail in P.Kretschmer's Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache, in which he calls Albanian a direct descendant of Illyrian, the prevailing view today. Kretschmer's criticism of those who linked Illyrian with Venetic was backed by H.Pedersen. Hermann Hirt, a considerable figure in the heyday of Indo-European linguistics, saw the Albanians as descendants of the Thracians. Baron F.Nopcsa thought that ancient Thracian was overlaid with Illyrian. Leo Spitzer contended that Dacians emigrated to the Illyrian coastlands.

The striking correspondences that occur between the vocabularies of Albanian and Rumanian were first noted by Thunmann in the eighteenth century. In this he was followed by Miklośich a hundred years later. C. Schuchardt continued the inquiry, and pointed out a close semantic similarity in the two languages, especially in the marginal usage of common Latin words, such as *furtunë* : furtună ('storm' not 'fortune'), *pulpë*: pulpă ('calf of the leg' not 'pulp'), *herë* : oară ('time, occasion' not 'hour'), etc. ; the future particle *do*, cf. Rum. va 'will', and the construction of dependent clauses. Miklośich thought this parallelism of usage and syntax pointed to an identical (largely lost) substrate language for both Albanian and Rumanian. S. Puşcariu's Etymological Dictionary of the Rumanian Language (in German) lent substance to this idea, and the more abundant Albanian material that has become available since 1948 confirms the link between the two languages. A dialect study from the region of Borgo Erizzo in Dalmatia by Weigand was followed in 1937 by a more elaborate work from the same region by C.Tagliavini, containing an etymological vocabulary. In more recent times A.V.Desnickaja has assembled a great deal of Albanian dialectal material, much of it based on tape-recordings. An important work is her study The Albanian language and its Dialects (Albanskiĭ jazyk i jevo dialekty, Leningrad,1968) in which Albanian as well as foreign source-material is used. Her study on Supradialectal forms of speech and their role in the history of the language (1970) is an original departure from the mainstream of Albanian linguistics, and her Slavonic Loanwords in the Albanian Language is a valuable addition to this somewhat neglected side of Albanian etymology. Her tape-recordings made at Konispojë in Çamëria in 1956 illustrate the survival of prehistoric l before and after velars, as in ulk, gluhë, glisht, klumësht, klenë,etc. ('wolf','tongue', 'finger','milk' , 'been'). She is general editor of Balkanskaja Filologija, published in Leningrad.

A word should be said about a remarkable resurgence of interest in Albanian linguistics in Albania and Kosmet. Eqrem Çabej, professor of linguistics at Tirana University,has subjected the Albanian lexique to rigorous scrutiny, and has reassessed many of the traditional etymologies. His contributions appear at frequent intervals in The Bulletin of Social Sciences, and since the foundation of Tirana University,in Philological Studies. The facsimile reproduction of Dom Gjon Buzuk's Litany of 1555 has made accessible the archaisms of Albania's oldest book, and its vocabulary and grammar are now the subject of close investigation . The more recent establishment of an Albanian University at Prishtinë , capital of Kosovo-Metohija, has led to the foundation of a journal entitled Albanological Research, published by the Faculty of Philosophy under its editor I.Ajeti. Ernest Koliqi heads an active Department of Albanian Studies in Rome, which has attracted the Siculo-Albanians Mark la Piana (died 1958) and Zef Valentini, as well as other linguists from the Albanian mainland.

Though most Albanian research has now passed into the hands of native Albanians, who are the most competent to pursue it, much has been achieved by scholars abroad in the past fifty years or so. K.Sandfeld of Copenhagen is responsible for a remarkable work Linguistique Balkanique, Problèmes et Résultats (1930) , which, despite its dubious conclusion that the common Balkan pattern of idiom and syntax derives from

Greek (!), surveys the whole field of Balkan linguistics. Albanian has a special relevance to this line of enquiry, since it is the only non-Greek language that is native to the area. Sandfeld's work, despite its many shortcomings (his speculations on "Thracianisms" in Rumanian and in Albanian on pages 93-95 are largely untenable), did point the way to a new line of enquiry, viz. that of parallel idiom and syntax, though this is a problem that still eludes historical linguists in the absence of documents older than the sixteenth century. His guesses merely echo those of his predecessors Ludwig von Thallóczy in Illyrisch-Albanische Forschungen, 1916, a composite work written in conjunction with K.Jireček, M.von Šufflay, T.Ippen, J. Ivanić, K.Thopia and others as an apology for the Austrian policy of setting up an Albanian protectorate under Austrian tutelage, thereby thwarting Italian pretensions. Taking V. Tomaschek's Die alten Thraker as his source for allegedly Thracian words, Thallóczy did his best to match them, not very convincingly, with Albanian words. (See Vol.I, page 7).

OUTLINE PHONOLOGY OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN ELEMENTS

The four principal criteria that serve to distinguish one Indo-European language from another are

(1) The number of vowels representing the IE short vowel system.

(2) The distinction of palatal and velar consonants.

(3) The distinction of velar and labiovelar consonants.

(4) The distinction of aspirate and non-aspirate consonants.

These criteria do not in themselves indicate a closer degree of affinity as between any one language and any other, since the features are shared by languages that are widely separated geographically and historically. The Albanian language preserves

(1) a four-vowel system like Baltic, Germanic and Hittite.

(2) a distinction between the IE palatals and the IE velars. In this respect Albanian is a satəm language like Indo-Iranian, Armenian, Baltic, and Slavonic.

(3) the non-distinction of velars and labio-velars before IE $^{+}$a, $^{+}$o, $^{+}$u, and $^{+}$ə, a characteristic shared in part with Indo-Iranian, Armenian (in part), and Baltic and Slavonic (in part). Albanian does, however, distinguish the labiovelars of IE when they occur before IE $^{+}$e and $^{+}$i, long or short.

(4) the non-distinction of aspirates (with one exception), as in Iranian, Hittite, Baltic, Slavonic and Celtic.

The unmodified Albanian equivalents of the IE vowels and consonants are given below

(1) The IE short vowels:	a	e	i	o	u	ə
Albanian equivalents:	a	(j)e	i	a	u	a
(2) The IE long vowels:	ā	ē	ī	ō	ū	
Albanian equivalents:	o	o	i	e	i	
(3) The IE palatals:	k̂	ĝ	ĝh			
Albanian equivalents:	th	dh	d (but dh when medial and final. Albanian th and dh are dental fricatives (θ) and (ð).			
(4) The IE velars:	k	g	gh			
Albanian equivalents:	k	g	g			
(5) The IE labiovelars:	qu̯	gu̯	gu̯h			
Albanian equivalents:	k	g	g (before IE $^{+}$a, $^{+}$o, $^{+}$u, $^{+}$ə)			

	s	z	z (before IE $^+$e and $^+$i)		
(6) The IE aspirates:	bh	dh	ĝh	gh	gu̯h
Albanian equivalents:	b	d	d	g	g/z

Albanian d, whether derived from IE $^+$dh or from IE $^+$ĝh appears as dh, pronounced as Icelandic ð, when it occurs medially or finally, but is preserved as d after n.

(7) The IE semivowels $^+$l̥ and $^+$r̥ are normally represented by ul,ur,or by lu,ru, but by li (?) and ri when they were originally followed by $^+$i. Evidence for IE $^+$m̥ is scant, probably Albanian âm, ân (the circumflex represents a nasal vowel in the Northern dialects, substituted by the vowel ë (shva, or e-mute) in the Southern dialects). IE $^+$n̥ is represented by Albanian ân. Long IE $^+$m̥̄n (due to prehistoric contraction) seems to be represented by Albanian un. Apart from this there is no certain evidence for the separate treatment of the long semivowels $^+$l̥̄, $^+$m̥̄, $^+$n̥̄, $^+$r̥̄.

The above Albanian vowel and consonantal system is considerably modified by combinative features such as vowel-fronting ("umlaut"), iotacism (the effect of a following yot in the prototype), vowel-clustering (diphthongs), consonantal clustering (such as sp, sk, ks, kn, gn, ĝn , k̂r, ĝr, rm, rn, rs, and sr in the prototype), and the internal and final loss of consonants and vowels. The most revolutionary changes in Albanian phonology are those affecting prototype $^+$s, and $^+$s in combination with other consonants (sp, sk, sk̂, skh, sk̂h, ks, k̂s,etc.). A detailed phonology of Albanian vowels and consonants will be found in "Language" (Jan.-Mar. 1941, 12-23 (Semivowels) ; ibid. July-Sept. 1951, 379-388... (Vowels); ibid. Jan.-Mar. 1952, 31-40 (Consonants), and cf. Slavonic Review, Jan 1938, 1-7, and Studia Albanica, 2, 1965, 45-47. Some of the conclusions in these articles have been revised).

In Albanian the many Latin loanwords have developed an individual phonology that differs in several respects from that of traditional IE words. There are similarities between the phonology of Latin forms in Albanian, Rumanian, the dialects of Southern Italy, and the Rhaeto-Rumansch dialects of Engadine.

Early borrowings from Greek represent a pronunciation older than that postulated for Medieval Greek. A few early Slavonic borrowings also display some archaic features. Greek, Slavonic and Turkish loanwords on the whole display little divergence from the pattern of the language of origin.

In recent years there has been a large accession of neo-Latin terms that are common to most of the languages of Europe.

THE ALPHABET

The modern Albanian alphabet dates from the year 1909 and consists of thirty-six phonemic symbols, some of them digraphic. They are a, b, c, ç, d, dh, e, ë, f, g, gj, h, i, j, k, l, ll, m, n, nj, o, p, q, r, rr, s, sh, t, th, u, v, x, xh, y, z, zh. Of the vowels, ë represents e-mute as in French, and is not heard when final, except in some southern dialects, and is regarded as a device for indicating that the vowel of the preceding syllable is half-long (see S.E.Mann, A Short Albanian Grammar, London, 1932, § 2). There is some inconsistency in its use. The symbol y represents French u, German ü. The symbols c and x represent ts and dz respectively. Ç and xh represent ch in 'church' and j in 'judge' respectively. The symbols q and gj represent mid-palatals of the type heard in Greek and Turkish k before e or i, a kind of fusion of ky and of gy heard respectively in English 'lockyer' and 'eggyolk'. R and rr represent respectively r and rr as in Italian 'sera' and 'terra'. Th and dh represent the unvoiced and voiced forms of English th in 'thing' and 'this'. L and ll represent respectively a palatal l (as in French or German) and the final ll in English and Dutch 'all'. Z and zh have respectively the sounds of English 'zone' and (the retracted voiced sibilant in) 'pleasure'. Nj is a mid-palatal (like q and gj), and resembles gn in French and Italian. J is the yot-sound of German and Scandinavian, and is also the second element of the diphthongs aj, ej, ij, oj, uj and yj.

The stress, which is emphatic as in the Germanic languages, retains a fixed position whatever the following inflexion (*máli* 'the mountain', *máleve* 'of mountains, to mountains'; *shikój* 'I see', *shikóhem* 'I am seen', *shikóheshin* 'they were seen'). With certain exceptions, the stress falls on the final syllable of words ending in a consonant, and on the penultimate of words ending in a vowel. The exceptions end in -as, -azi, -ël, -ëll, -ull (and -ullë), -un, -ur (other than in loanwords), -ër, -ërr, -ëm. -ën, -ëz. Adverbs in -azi stress the antepenultimate syllable. The circumflex indicates a nasal vowel, heard only in the Geg or northern dialects. Elsewhere it is represented by a simple vowel , or (in the case of â and ê, and occasionally i) by the vowel ë. The dialect formerly favoured as the standard literary pattern, the Geg dialect of Elbasan, has been replaced by Tosk, but Geg forms are tolerated. Throughout the present work Geg forms are given first, Tosk second. This is partly to accommodate citations from the older recorded forms of the language such as the Liturgy of Dom Gjon Buzuku (1555), and the seventeenth century works of Bardhi, Budi and Bogdani, all of which are in the Geg dialect.

EXAMPLES OF ALBANIAN WORDS WITH AN IE BACKGROUND

Short vowels

+a: bal 'blaze on animal's forehead': Breton bal', id. : Armenian bal, -i, -iv 'paleness' ; cf. Gk. phálios 'white' (Hes. phalós, id.). IE +bhalis. With i-affection (vowel-fronting or umlaut): elb 'barley' : Gk. álphi, id. IE +albhi(t). With implied iotacism in the prototype: mírni 'you take', mírrem, beside mérrem 'I am taken'.

+e: mjel 'I milk' : Gk. amélgō : Eng. milk. IE +melĝ- with loss. With implied iotacism: shterr 'I drain' : Gk. steîros 'barren'. IE +steri̭o-. Stressed IE +e in e-sequence: jémi 'we are' : Doric eimés. IE +esmés.

+i: bind 'I convince'; i bindëm 'obedient' ; cf. Gk. pithanós 'persuasive'. IE +bhindh- beside +bhidh-. With loss of following IE +ṷ: e ve 'widow' : Skt. vidhavā : Lat. vidua: E widow. IE +ṷidheṷā.

+o: darkë 'supper' : Gk. dórpon 'supper'. IE +dorqṷom,ā. Before nasal: Geg dhâmb, Tosk dhëmp, dhëmb 'tooth' : Gk. gómphos. IE +ĝombhos.

+u: tund 'I rock' : Lat. tundō 'beat' : Skt. tunde, id.: Persian tund 'swift, violent' : Ir. tonnaim 'flay, tan', cf. Gk. Tundarídai (epithet of Castor and Pollux, gods of thunder and lightning). With vowel-fronting dynd 'I move, stir, shake, uproot, force' ; cf. Arm. dndčẹm 'bang': OE dynt 'blow' : OIcel. dyntr 'crash' beside dunn 'troop, mass': Lith. dundu, ēti 'beat, throb' : Latv. dundu, ēt 'rumble, hum'. IE +dhund-. Alb. type +dhundi̭ō.

+ə: katër 'four' : Lat. quatuor, id. beside quater 'four times'. IE +qṷətṷōr, +qṷəter-, beside IE +qṷet- (e-grade) in Gk. téssara : Gaul. petor-, petru-. A similar variant arises in Alb. i madh 'big': Lat. magis in relation to Gk. mégas, etc.

The long vowels

+ā: o 'or' : Gk. ḗ, id. : Skt. ā 'just, also, besides': OCS a 'but' : Lith. õ,id. IE +ā. Vowel-fronting does not arise with this vowel, but compensatory lengthening, due to the loss of a final syllable,occurs in duell, duel, Tosk dolli, doli 'he went out' : Gk. éthēle,3sg. 'sprouted, flourished'(present ind. 1sg. dal : Gk. thállō).

+ē: mot 'time'(obs.) ;'year, weather' : Skt. mātiḥ 'measure' : Arm. mitḱ 'mind' : Gk. mẽtis 'judgment, wisdom': OE mǣþ 'measure, degree' : OS māth-(mundi) 'gentle(-minded)'; LW in Finnish miete 'thought'. IE +mētis. Vowel-fronting, as with +ā, does not arise,but compensatory ue, Tosk ua, arises in muej, Tosk muaj 'month' : Skt. mās : OPer. māh: Oss. mæi 'moon, month' : Mycenaean and Gk. mḗn, Doric mḗs,id. : Tokh. mañ, B meñe 'month' : Ir. mí, mís : W mis : OIcel. māni,etc. IE +mēns.

+ī: pi 'I drink' : Skt. pīye,id.: Gk. pīomai 'will drink' : OCS piję 'drink' : Li. pyju and pynu (= Gk.pīnō) 'soak up'. IE +pī-.

+ō: ne 'we, us' : Lat. nōs,id. : OCS nasŭ 'us'. IE +nōs. The word nye 'knot' displays the compensatory equivalent of ō, but appears to derive from Latin nōdus.

+ū: ti 'thou' : Per. tū : OIr. tú : W. Br. ti,id. IE +tū.

The diphthongs

+au, +əu (1) when initial

vesh 'ear' : Lat. auris : Lith. ausìs,id. IE +əusis.

(2) when internal or final

klaj, qaj 'I weep' : Gk. klaíō,id. cf. OAlb. klatë,pp. :Gk. klautós. IE +kləṷi̭ō,+kləutós (in a series +əu,+āṷ,+u,+ū).

+āṷ: grue,grua'woman' : Homeric grẽus 'old woman'. IE +grāṷ-,with compensatory ue, ua for o. Cf drue 'I fear' beside droe, f. gen.sg. droje 'fear': Lith. droviúos 'am bashful' : drovà 'shyness'. IE +drāṷ- or +dhrāṷ-, but without further connexions.

+eu: hudh 'fling' : OE scēotan,etc. IE +skeud-. Cf. also u 'self':Gk. heé,id. (from +seṷe) : Latv. sev,acc. and dat.,id. : Lith. savè,acc.beside sau, sav, archaic sev-.id. ; cf. W hu-n 'self' (with n-extn.), and possibly Lat. sō- in sō-cordia 'negligence'. Albanian type +seu. Parallel to Albanian -u- is -y- by vowel-fronting as in ty,acc. and dat.prn. 'thee', from +teṷe (or possibly +tebhi, with internal loss).

$^+$ēu̯; kluonj (archaic); quej, quaj 'I call' :Gk. klēízō,id. IE type $^+$k̂lēu̯i̯ō, -ii̯ō (IE $^+$k̂ is inhibited from becoming Alb. th by a following l or r).

$^+$ou: dash, pl. desh 'ram' ; i dashëm 'beloved' ; cf. Illyrian proper names Dasios, Dasmenus, Dasummius, Dazimos,-a, and other variants, beside Messap. dazimas, dozas, dauza-,etc. ; cf. Gk. en-thousía 'inspiration': OCS duxŭ 'breath, spirit' ; duša 'soul, breath' : Lith. dausà usually pl. daũsos 'paradise, upper air'; e-grade in Goth dius 'animal', zero-grade in Gaulish dusii,pl.'demons'. The semantic link is seen in Latin anima 'air, breath, soul', animus 'spirit', animal 'animal'. IE $^+$dhousi̯o-.

$^+$ōu̯ ve 'egg' : Gk. ōón,etc. There are no certain examples of IE $^+$ōu̯ occurring internally.

$^+$ai, $^+$əi (1) when initial

edh 'kid' : Gk. aíx 'goat' : Arm. ajc,id. IE $^+$aiĝis. (A Latin loanword from haedus would have produced $^+$hjedh, with h- preserved).

(2) when final

daj 'I divide' : Skt. dáye,id. : Gk. daíō, daíomai,id. IE $^+$dai̯-.

$^+$āi̯: shtoj 'arid soil' : Skt. sthāyaḥ 'receptacle' : OCS stajŭ 'dwelling' : W saw 'stop'. IE $^+$sthāi̯o- 'standing'.

$^+$ei: dimën, T dimër 'winter' : Gk. kheĩma,etc. IE $^+$ĝheimn̥.

$^+$ēi̯: ruej, ruaj 'mind, guard': Lat. reor, rēri 'think' : OCS rěję (2) inf. rějati 'discuss'. IE $^+$rēi̯-. Cf. also rojë,f. 'guard'.

$^+$oi: venë, T verë 'wine' : Gk. oinos,etc. IE $^+$u̯oin-.

$^+$ōi̯: prej 'from' (dial. 'toward') : Gk. prōí 'early' : MIr. ré 'before, towards': MHG vrüe, vrüeje, vruo 'early'. IE $^+$prōi̯. Cf. also Gk. prṓēn, Dor. prṓān 'some time ago' : Latv. projām 'forth, away'.

Albanian ë (the neutral vowel or shva) represents the reduction of a prototype vowel, usually -o- or -a-, when it occurs in an unstressed syllable, a phenomenon that is characteristic of Rumanian, English, and in part, Portuguese and Russian. When final, it is nowadays a zero-element, adducible in some instances to a lost inflection. Its effect is to add length to the preceding syllable by compensation in those dialects where it is no longer heard. Final ë is , however, still heard in the dialects of the extreme south of Albania. In this respect final ë has an exact counterpart in French and its relation to the dialects of Provence. Cf. the Albanian loanword pjesë (pje·s), southern dialectal pronunciation (pjesə)'part'. As a divisive element in extensions and compounds usage is unsettled, thus pjestoj or pjesëtoj 'I divide'.The former spelling is preferred by Geg speakers.

As an etymological entity Albanian ë represents prototype -o- in the unstressed syllables of dërkúj 'sup, dine' in relation to darkë'supper', përpjétë 'upwards' in relation to Gk. propetḗs 'headlong', përpára 'before' in relation to Gk. própar,id. Other short vowels, such as -i- and -a- are similarly reduced if they occur in words in weak sentence position, such as në 'in' , archaic ëndë : Gk. éndo- : OLat. endo-, cf.Eng. into. Similarly mbë 'at', archaic ënbë : Gk. amphí 'about, at': Latin ambi-,etc. This reduction of unstressed vowels is a widespread phenomenon in words of Latin origin (këndoj 'I sing' from cantā-re; kërkoj 'I seek' from circā-re), but is rare in words of Greek or Slavonic origin (lëpjétë 'orach' , though ultimately Greek from lápathon 'dock-sorrel', is nevertheless by reason of its vocalism and stressing a word that has come into Albanian via Latin, cf. LLat. lapatune 'sorrel' : It.lapázio). Of Slavonic borrowings only gërmadhë 'ruin' displays vowel reduction,as also Rumanian grămadă, but there is a hybrid word përkuer'humility', cf. OCS pokorŭ 'obedience'. That some Slavonic loanwords are of early date is seen from the consonantal sequence in Albanian baltë 'mud', and daltë 'chisel' (Rumanian baltă, daltă,id.).

In the Tosk, or southern, dialects, stressed ë corresponds to the nasalized vowels â and ê (rarely î) of the Geg dialects. Thus dhëmp , gen.dat.sg. dhëmbi 'tooth' : Geg dhâmb,-i ; vënt, gen.dat.sg. vëndi(now vend, vendi in the interests of uniformity) 'place' : Geg vênd,-i.Paradigmatic uniformity also requires Tosk dhëmp to be spelt dhëmb. Geg nasality in the vowels î and û is occasionally non-historical (as in kû 'where'), otherwise it represents a lost nasal as in lî 'flax'(+lino-), hû 'stake' (+skun-), mâz 'foal' (Rum. mînz,id. cf. It. manzo 'young ox') of which the Tosk equivalents are li, hu and mëz respectively.

Of some difficulty is the identification of the vowels -y- and -ye-. Thus rrymë,f. 'stream, current' is clearly identifiable with Gk.rheûma, id.but the vowel represents either the umlaut of -u- (qua +sreumis), or the sequence +-eu̯e- (as in Gk. rhéethron 'stream', cf. Alb. *ty*'thee' fr. +teu̯e, see above, p. 28). Nowhere does a prototype plural inflection produce *-y-* alternating with a singular internal vowel *-u-* as in the German word Nüsse 'nuts' from Nuss. The loanword *pyll* 'wood', despite its meaning, derives from Latin padúle- 'marsh' , variant of palude-,cf.Rum. pădure 'wood'. Albanian *-y-* also derives from Latin -ō- (*lëngjyrë*'typhus' from languōre-; *zgjyrë* 'slag' from scōria) when there is a following -e- or -i- in the prototype. Otherwise Albanian -y- is the normal derivative of Latin -ū- (*fytyrë* 'face', *gjymtyrë* 'limb', from factūra-, junctūra-). Albanian *-y-* in words of IE origin occurs in the northern dialects instead of -i- before a labial, as in *krypë* 'salt'; *hyp* 'rise, mount'; *lyp* 'I request, require'; *krymb* 'worm'. It apparently represents the IE cluster +u̯əi (or +əu̯i) in *dy*,m.f. 'two', cf. Lat. duae, OCS dvě and Latvian divi,id. beside Lith. du, cpds. dvi-. The origin of *-y-* in the pronoun *ky* 'this, he' and its correlative *ay*, *aí* 'that, he' is obscure, but in view of the feminine forms *kjo* and *ajo* the common element appears to derive from a prototype +-i̯o-, fem. +-i̯ā.

Equally problematic is the source of the Albanian vowel-cluster *-ye-*. This vowel frequently alternates with *-e-*, of which it is the compensatory form, cf. *derë* 'door', pl. *dyer*. In view of the ambiguous phonology of its cognates it must be supposed that *-ye-* in the plural is due to the loss of a plural inflexion, cf. Tokharian B tweri,pl. 'door' : OCS drvi,pl. id. : Latv. durvis,pl.id. Initial Albanian *de-* seems to represent original +dhu̯e- in view of *deh* 'I intoxicate' : Skt. dhvasye 'fail': Lith. dvesiù, dvēsti 'expire' : Latv. dvešu, dvēst 'gasp' beside dvest , cf. also OE dwǣsian 'become silly' : MHG ver-twāsen 'besot': Du. verdwazen 'infatuate'. IE +dhu̯es-, +dhu̯ēs-. Compensation after loss is also seen in *nye* 'knot' in relation to Latin nōdus, and in the pp.*kapërcyem*, *kapërcyer*, from *kapërcej* 'I jump over, clear (a fence)' in relation to It. caprizzare 'bound, frisk', cf. OFr. chevreter,id. But the true background of *-ye-* in words of native origin remains elusive, since their etymology is uncertain. Examples are *thyej* beside *thej* 'I break, dent', *lyej* 'I smear'. (A cognate of Lat. ē-, dē-leō, -lēre would give Alb. *luej*, which means 'I move, stir',cf. Goth. lēwjan 'abandon': OIr. lúaim 'I move,stir' and perhaps Br. līw 'leave, permission'; cf. Cz. ú-,po-,s-leviti 'ease, give way, concede' : Ukr. livyty,id. : Lith. liáuju 'cease, abate': Latv. ļauju 'let, allow'. IE +lēṷ-).

An important variant of the background subsumed for -ye- in relation to -e- arises when the vowel occurs in conjunction with -r-, where it apparently represents a long-zero IE +r̥̄. The evidence for this is contained in the word krye 'head', pl.krena, krenë, T krera, krerë, beside kryej 'finish, carry out', krejt 'quite' (from an ablative form of krye). For krye cf. Gk. krāníon 'crown of head, skull', fr.+k̂r̥̄nii̭o- ; for krena, etc. cf. Hes. krána 'head', fr. +k̂r̥̄nə. For kryej cf. Gk. kraínō'fulfil, achieve',etc. fr. +k̂r̥̄ni̭ō. The relationship of Alb. grresë 'rasp' to Illyrian grōssa,id.supplies the probable background for the related verb grryej 'I scrape', cf. Gk. khrōjzō, khrōnnūmi 'touch, graze', but the existence of a Greek verb khraínō in the same sense makes the reconstruction ambiguous (+ghrōi̭ō or+ghr̥̄ni̭ō). But Alb. grr- normally represents prototype +gn- except where -rr- occurs as an expressive variant spelling. Other apparent instances of long-grade vocalic +r (+r̥̄) occur in Alb. predhë 'shell, bullet' (cf. Gk. pardḗ, beside pordḗ 'fart': Cz. prd,id.., IE +pr̥̄dā) (for the sense cf. Fr. pétard); drekë 'lunch' beside darkë'dinner' (type +dr̥̄qṷā); and the Slavonic loanwords treg 'market' (Srb.tȓg) , kreshnik 'hero' (OCS krŭštenikŭ 'Christian'). For fryej 'I blow', frymë 'breath' cf. the vocalism of Gk. espárēn 'was sown, scattered', sparnós, adj.'rare', to speírō 'scatter, sow (seed)'. Albanian type +sphr̥̄i̭ō beside +sphr̥̄mā.

The residual echo of a former labiovelar is present in ku 'where' fr. +qṷ-, cf. Vedic kū beside kva,id., OCS kŭ- (in kŭdě, kŭ-da),id.

The Consonants

+p: pjek 'I bake, cook' : Skt. páčāmi : Gk. péptō, péssō : OCS pekǫ id. IE +peqṷō, -i̭ō.

+b: gjerb 'I sup' : Lat. sorbeō,etc. IE +sōrb- with variants.

+bh: bjer! (1) 'bring!' : Lat. fer,id. IE +bher-.

+t: tre,m. 'three': Gk. treĩs: Lat. trēs,etc. IE +trei̭es. Variants:

(1) +ti-,+ti̭-: ditë 'day' : Skt. dītiḥ 'brightness',etc In weak sentence position pêsë 'five' : Skt. panktiḫ 'group of five' :OCS pętĭ etc. IE +penqṷtis. Iotacised+t in tres 'I melt, dissolve' :OCS trastǫ, tratiti 'consume'. IE +trōti̭ō. Preserved as -d- after -n- in words with

a final t-extension (the so-called "action nouns"), and deriving from an oxytonic prototype vend 'place',cf. Skt. vasatíḥ 'dwelling. Type +u̯esn̥tís. With loss after -n- in weak sentence position janë 'they are' (+e > ja by compensatory lengthening) : Doric entí. IE +esn̥ti, with variants. By iotacism in weak sentence position after -n- in ferr-mânzë 'blackberry',cf. Illyrian mantia 'bramble' (ferr = 'thorn').

+d: dru 'tree, wood' : Gk. drũs 'oak, tree'; cf. also dru, def. druja 'firewood, timber' : Gk. drı́a 'brushwood' : OCS drŭvije 'firewood'. IE +dru-, +druu̯ii̯ə. With iotacism rrânzë 'root', cf. Gk. rhádamnos'branch , shoot' (with variants) : Arm. armat 'root, trunk'. IE +u̯r̥mdi̯ə,etc. Internally and finally dhietë 'ten' (by analogy with the '-teens' nji-më-dhietë '11', dy-më-dhietë '12',etc.): Skt. daśat, daśatiḥ 'group of 10': OCS desętĭ '10' : Lith. dešimtìs 'group of ten'. IE +dek̂m̥tis, dek̂m̥t.Cf. also pjerdh 'I break wind' : Gk. pérdomai,id., but -d- is preserved after -n-, cf. tund 'shake' : Lat. tundō. In verbs, IE+-di̯ appears as Albanian -s in cus, cys 'incite' : Skt. čodāmi beside todayāmi,id.:Pol. cudzić 'train, tug, tousle, beat' . IE +teudi̯ō.

+dh: doke 'custom, habit, duty, task' : Skt. dhākaḥ 'receptacle': Gk. thḗkē,id. : Latv. dēka 'adventure, mishap' ; cf. Lith. dēklas 'container'. Radical +dhē- 'put'; Albanian type +dhēkii̯ə. A different root is present in Alb. dosë 'sow' : Skt. dhā́tuḥ 'for sucking' : Lat. fētus,adj. 'pregnant' ; m.'young of animal or human' : OCS děti 'children'. IE +dhēt-, Alb. type +dhēti̯ə. Otherwise IE +dh behaves as IE +d, but is lost in e ve 'widow' : Skt. vidhavā,etc. and in va 'ford' : cf.Eng.wade.

+k̂: thom, them 'I say' : Skt. śaṃsāmi 'recite,tell': Av. sāsmi 'teach' beside sasmi 'speak': OCS 3sg. sętŭ 'he says'. IE +k̂ēnsmi,+k̂ē̆smi,+k̂ē̆s-. Before l: kluonj (archaic), quej, quaj 'I call' : Gk. klēízō,etc. IE +k̂lēu̯-. Before r: krye 'head' : Gk. krānı́on,etc. IE +k̂r̥ni̯o-.

+k̂i̯: Alb. so- in so-t 'today', cf. ditë 'day' ; so-nte 'this evening'. IE +k̂i̯ā- 'this', cf. Lith. šo-nakt 'tonight'; MHG hī-naht,id.etc. IE +k̂ disappears in Alb. dritë 'light' : Skt. dr̥ṣṭiḥ ; dhalltë 'buttermilk' : Gk. gala, galakt- 'milk'; dhiet, T dhjetë 'ten' : OCS desętĭ,etc.

+ĝ: dhâmb, T dhëmb 'tooth' : Skt. jámbhaḥ,etc. IE +ĝombhos. Before r: grunë, T grurë 'wheat' : Lat. grānum,etc. IE +ĝr̥nóm. (ĝi̯> z).

+ĝh dimën,T dimër 'winter' : Gk. kheĩma,etc. IE +ĝheimn̥. When internal or final +ĝh appears as -dh-, cf. mardhë 'frost' : OCS mrazŭ,etc. IE +morĝ- .

+k: kap 'I seize' : Lat. capiō,etc. IE +kap-. Before Albanian -e- or -i-, of whatever origin, k becomes a mid-palatal, written -q- as in qep (1) 'tap' : Av. čap- 'destroy' : Oss. cäf,s. 'blow, wound' beside cəvĭn 'to strike' ; cf. Cz. čepel 'blade (of knife)' ; Lith. kēpščioti 'to tap, rap'. IE +kep-. Also Alb. qep (2) 'I sew' : Lith. kempù, kèpti,pf.kẽpau 'stick, adhere' : Latv. ķepju, inf. ķept,pf. ķepu,id. ; cf. Ukrainian pry-čepyti 'attach' ;u-čepyti,tr.'hang on'. IE +kep-. Representing the IE diphthong +-oi-: qeth 'trim (hair)';cf. Skt. keśaḥ 'hair, mane'(distinct from Skt. késaram fr. +kais-): Lith. káišiu, -ti 'scrape, shave' ; kaĩšas, kaišà 'scrapings'. IE +koik̂- (or ?+qṷoik̂- in view of Mycenaean qo-zo, for +qoitso- (?) 'a product of sheep'). Cf. also Albanian ngjeth, përqeth 'scare, make shudder' : Lith. kaišaũ, -ýti 'squeeze, constrain'. IE +koik̂-(2). But Albanian k- in kep 'knock,chip' seems to represent IE +k before a reflex of IE +o when followed originally by yot,as in Gk. kóptō 'I strike'. IE +kopi̭ō.

+g: gángull 'bulging'; m. 'bulging eye' ; ve — 'fried egg' : Gk. góggúlos 'round' ; goggulós, goggúlē 'turnip' ; cf. Blg. găgliak,m. 'woodlouse'. IE +gongulo-. Mid-palatal gj- appears in loanwords (gjind people' fr. Lat. gente-), and as an iotacized variant in rregj 'I tan,train' cf. Gk. rhézō 'I perform, carry out' : Du wrikken'twist' beside wreken 'avenge'. IE +ṷregi̭ō.

+gh: gardh 'fence', pl. gjerdhe : OHG gart :OE geard : OCS gradŭ,etc.IE +ghordhos. With iotacism: drizë 'briar' : Gk. thríssa 'fine-boned fish' Cf. OBrit. drissi 'briers' : OIr. driss 'brier, bramble' and Gk.hús-trix, -trikhos 'porcupine' (lit."pig-bristles"). IE +dhrighi̭ə (or +dhriĝhi̭ə), the simplex in Gk. thrix, g.s. trikhós, extended to a type +dhrighno- in Br. draen, dréan 'thorn, fishbone'. Of similar formation are gjizë'cottage cheese' : Arm. kcu 'sour' : Lith. gižùs,id. Alb. type +giĝi̭ə.See IE +ĝ above. Further mizë 'fly' : Latv. mūdzis 'midge' ; short vowel in G Mücke, OLG mügge. Albanian type +mūghi̭ə.

+qṷ: siell 'turn; bring'; për-ciell 'accompany': Skt. čárāmi,čálāmi'go, wander' : Hom. pélomai 'go, come, rise' ; cf. also Gk. peri-téllomai 'go round' : Lith. keliù (2) 'open or shut (door)'. IE +qṷel-. Before +a, +o, and $^+$u, IE $^+$qu̯- appears as k-, as in *koll*,m.,*kollë*,f. 'cough':OCS kašĭlĭ: Lith. kosulỹs,id. IE $^+$qu̯āsil-, $^+$qu̯āsul-. There seems to be some uncertainty in the reflexes of $^+$qu̯- before IE $^+$ē (*sorrë* 'crow' beside *kohë*,f. 'time, season' : OCS časŭ), and in the choice of s- and c- (*sop*,m.,*sopë*, f. 'mound, hillock' as against *copë* 'piece', both without a certain etymology). For loss of vowel with residual echo of IE $^+$qu̯, cf. *kuj*, *kujt*, *i kuji* 'whose' : *kuj* 'to whom' : OLat. quojus, quoi : Lat. cuius,cui,etc. Both reflexes appear to be present in *cirikokë* 'jackdaw' or sim. cf.Skt. čirikākaḥ 'a crow'. Type $^+$qu̯iriqu̯āquā, an onomatopoeic term similar to Czech čirikavka 'partridge'.

$^+$gu̯: The evidence is ambiguous. Cf. *gogës* 'wood pigeon' ; *gogë*,*a*, m. 'gaper, idler'; cf. R gàga 'eider-duck' : Latv. gāga 'duck'; gāgāju, -āt 'quack'; cf. Gk. bēssō 'cough' ; bḗx, g.s. bēkhós 'cough'. Type $^+$gu̯āgh-. But for Alb. *gogës* an equation with Gk. pháps, g.s. phabós 'wood-pigeon' is possible under a caption $^+$gu̯hăgu̯-. Before front-vowels the evidence is equally ambiguous, cf. *zog* 'bird' : Per. zāy 'crow' from a possible prototype $^+$gu̯ēg(h)-.

$^+$gu̯h: *zjarr*, *zjerm* 'fire' (-*ja*- by compensatory lengthening due to the loss of -*m* in the first form) : Gk. thérmos,etc. IE $^+$gu̯herm-.Before back vowels $^+$gu̯h- is represented by g- as in *gând* 'injury, chance blow'; *gândoj* ,a word of ambiguous origin, probably to Sanskrit hatáḥ,etc. as on pages 46-47, but relationship with Skt. gandhaye 'injure': OCS po-gǫzdǫ. IE $^+$gu̯hondh-, e-grade in Latin fendere 'provoke' is also possible; *djeg* 'I burn',tr. : Li. degti,etc. IE $^+$dhegu̯h-. By iotacism -z- in *ndez* 'ignite'. IE $^+$en-dhogu̯hei̯ō, the simplex as in Lat. foveō 'I heat'.

The IE liquids and nasals appear universally as l,r,m and n when initial. Modifications arise as a result of a following $^+$i or $^+$i̯ in the prototype, or loss of a following $^+$m or $^+$n. Cf. *mal* 'mountain' ($^+$molis); *bijë* 'daughter', perhaps from $^+$bhu̯īli̯ə, cf. Lat. fīlia,id.; *djalë* 'boy', pl. *djem*, *djelm*, cf. Illyrian Dalmāsius (= *djelmosh* 'lad'?); *valë* 'wave' ($^+$u̯l̥nā) ; *barrë* 'burden' ;cf. Gk. phormós 'carrier, basket' ($^+$bhorm-); *ferrë* 'briar' : Br. spern, Gaul. sparnos 'thorn'; *shterr* 'I drain' ($^+$steri̯ō),etc. Initially $^+$u̯l- is represented by ll- (*llom* 'mud',cf. MLG wlōm 'muddy' : Lat. and Latv. lāma 'puddle' : Lith. lõmas, lomà 'marsh'), and $^+$u̯r- by rr- (*rrânzë* 'root', fr. $^+$u̯r̥mdi̯ə).

The reflexes of IE +i̯ are threefold. In ziej 'I boil' : Gk.zéō'ferment',etc. the quality of +i̯ seems to be non-aspirated, but in ju 'you': Lith. jus,etc. the quality of IE +i̯ seems to be that of an aspirate, cf. Gk. humeĩs (see Feist: Goth. jūs). IE +u̯ appears universally as -v-, but is lost in i gjallë 'alive' : Skt. sárvaḥ 'whole',etc., and in miell, m. 'flour' : OHG mëlo, g.s. mëlawes,id. It appears to have been lost in the verb lag 'I wet', if this derives from a type +u̯l̥gu̯- cf. Lat. ulva'rushes':Norw. ulke, ulka 'slime, filth' : OCS vlŭgŭkŭ 'wet' : Li. vilgstu,v. tr.'grow damp' . Albanian type+u̯ləg- with increscent +ə > a by way of compensation for loss. Cf. a similar loss in valë 'wave' fr. u̯l̥nā.

Vocalic Liquids and Nasals

+l̥: ulk, ujk 'wolf' : Skt. vr̥kaḥ,etc. IE +u̯l̥qu̯os. With compensatory a in valë 'wave', fr. +u̯l̥nā, cf. OCS vlŭna,id. : Lith. vilnìs,id.

+r̥: (1) with i-basis: dritë 'light' (+dr̥k̂tis), cf. Gk. drákos 'eye', beside (e-grade) dérkomai 'I see'. With following labial: -ri- or -ry-.

(2) with u-basis,due to residual echo of IE +u̯, cf. ulk above(l̥): urdh,m., urdhë,f. 'ivy'. Of ambiguous consonantism. If from +u̯r̥ĝh-, cf. Gk. rhakhaí 'vine-shoots'; a-rakhnís 'spider' (+sm̥-u̯r̥ĝh-) : MHG worc,g.s. worges 'strangling' : OIcel. urga 'strap, rope-end'. Of ambiguous origin are Per. gīğ 'vertigo': Ir. frigh 'fleshworm' : OCS vrŭza 'puzzle' , lit. "knot" ; Srb. vrz-ina 'wattle fence' : Lith. vir̃žis 'bast-rope , string, withy, strap': Latv. virza,f. and virzes,pl. 'chickweed'. IE +u̯r̥ĝh-, or, in view of Skt. vr̥janaḥ 'enclosure', vr̥janīḥ 'enclosure;wile, intrigue', IE +u̯r̥ĝ- 'twist, turn'. Occasionally the Albanian consonant precedes the vowel as in rrudh 'I squeeze': Skt. vr̥j- 'bend,twist': Lat. urgeō,etc. Cf. also fruth 'measles', from a type +spr̥k̂to-, radical in Skt. spr̥śaḥ,adj. 'touching'; spr̥śniḥ 'speckled' : Lat. spurcus 'dirty'. The reason for occasional -ry- in zero-grade Albanian forms appears to be a following labial, though the possibility of vowel-fronting from -u- cannot be ruled out. Cf. krimb, krymb 'worm' (from +qu̯r̥mis,cf. Skt. kŕ̥miḥ, Lith. kirmìs,id. with excrescent -b in Albanian); rryp 'strap' Gk.rhapís (Hes.) 'rod; shoe'; rhapido-poió- 'shoe-making': Lith. vir̃pas 'rod'. The occurrence of -ar- in i parë 'first' suggests intrusive vocalism due to loss,cf. Skt. pūrvaḥ 'facing, prior' : OCS prŭvŭ 'first'. IE +pr̥u̯os.Alb. type +pəru̯- by compensatory lengthening. Cf. valë above, and lag< +u̯l̥gu̯-.

+m̥: *pëllâmbë*, T *pëllëmbë* 'palm of the hand' : Gk. palámē : Lat.palma, id. (with Latin -al- from IE +l̥̄ before labials) : OE folm, folme,folma, id. IE +pl̥̄mā. Before dentals, with assimilation: *rrânzë*, T *rrënjë*,f. fr. +u̯r̥mdi̯ə , T variant +u̯r̥dni̯ə, cf. MHG wurz, OE wyrt 'root'. With vowel-fronting: *shtrêmb* 'crookedly'; *i shtrêmbën*, T *i shtrëmbër*, also *i shtrêmbët*,adj. 'crooked': Gk. strabós 'crosseyed'. The existence of a LLat. form strambus 'bandylegged', beside strabus (a loanword from Gk.), as well as a Rumanian form strîmb 'crooked, -ly' renders the history of this word somewhat uncertain. The various extensions to the Albanian forms, however, make it seem a native form of type +strm̥bi-. IE +m̥ is lost in *dhjetë* 'ten' , from a type +dek̂m̥ti.

+n̥: *lândë* 'timber, substance' : Gk. elátē 'pine' : Lith. lentà 'board' IE +eln̥tā. The Tosk form is *lëndë*. With vowel-fronting: *êndem* 'I wander', mp. of *ênd* 'weave': Skt. atāmi, aṭāmi 'wander' : Gk. áttomai 'begin weaving, ordior'. IE +n̥ti̯ō, n̥ti̯o-. The problem of Geg -â- in relation to Tosk -ë- is discussed below.

The Sigmatic Element

The evolution of Indo-European +s in isolation and in combination with other consonants is most complex. In this respect Albanian resembles its sister language Armenian(cf. S.E.Mann: Armenian and Indo-European , London, 1963, and An Armenian Historical Grammar in Latin Characters , London, 1968). IE +s assumes different forms according to its position in the word: initial (*gj*-), internal and final (*h* or loss). New consonants arise from the IE clusters +sp-, +sph- and +sk-, +skh-, +sk̂- and +sk̂h-, though these values are sometimes difficult to distinguish in Albanian. Among the more difficult groups to identify are +stl-, +skr- , +squ̯-, and +k̂u̯-.

+s: (1) initially: *gjak* 'blood' : Tokh. A saku, B sekwe 'pus, fat , juice': Scythian áskhu 'juice' (Herodot.) : Hitt. sakwis (queried)'well, spring' : Gk. opós 'juice, sap, moisture' : OHG sou, OE sēaw,id. IE +soqu̯os.

(2) internally and finally: *koll*, *kollë* 'cough': Lith. kosulỹs, id., cf. Lith. kosēti : Latv. kāsēt 'to cough'. IE +qu̯ās-; *deh* I intoxicate' : Lith. dvẽsiu, dvēsti 'pine away, die'. IE +dhu̯es- ; *mi*,*u*, 'mouse' : Gk. mũs : Lat. OE mūs,etc. IE +mūs.

+sp, sph: *farë* 'seed' : Gk. sporá,etc.; *frymë* 'breath, soul'; *fryj* 'I blow'; cf. Hom. sparnós 'sparse, scattered' beside (e-grade) speírō 'I scatter, sow' : Ir. cf. sernaim 'scatter', and Br. spéria 'fertilize' . IE +sphr̥-, +sphr̥̄m-, +sphr̥̄n- in view of Skt. sphūrṇaḥ 'spread' : Gk.sparnós.

+st, sth: *âsht* 'is' : Gk. estí,etc. IE +esti ; *asht*, pl. *eshtna*, T *eshtra* 'bone' : Skt. asthi, g.s. asthnāḥ,id. : Gk. ostéon,etc.IE +osth-.

+sk̂, sk̂h: *hije* 'shade' : Skt. čhāyá : Gk. skiá,etc. IE +sk̂ii̯ā; *çaj* 'I split' : Gk. skháō, skházō,id. IE +sk̂hai̯ō (but see note on -ç- below).

+sk, skh: *halë* 'scale, pine-needle' : Hitt. skallai(mi) 'I split':Gk. skolos 'thorn' : W ysgol 'peak' : Ir. scol- 'split' : OHG scala 'scale, shell' ; cf. OCS skolĭ-ka 'shell' : Lith. skalà 'splinter'. IE +skol-; *i çalë* 'lame': Gk. skoliós 'crooked, bent' ; cf. Oss. k̂äl- (in compounds) 'bent'. IE +skholi̯o-.

Of some complexity is the origin of Albanian ç-. The existence of word-pairs like *çap* and *hap* 'step,pace' , *shqerr* and *çierr* 'tear,rend', *çoj* 'send' and *qoj* 'rouse' suggests the possibility of a fused aphetic prefix of type +k̂s (cf. Lith. iš, Russ. s 'from', in the phrase s těx por 'since that time', and possibly Gk. s- in s-thénos, s-phodrós,etc.) which now forms a single phoneme with a following +k or +sk. Before other consonants the prefix +k̂s appears as *sh*-, Tosk ç- as in *shvesh*, T *çvesh* 'undress, strip' (*vesh* 'I clothe'). Since *qoj* 'I rouse' is isophonic with Lat. cieō, and *çoj* with Lat. excieō 'stir, rouse'(Alb.type: +ki̯ēi̯ō, +k̂s-ki̯ēi̯ō) Albanian -ç- takes on the appearance of a compound phoneme (like Armenian č̣).

A clustering of consonants is suggested in *ç* 'what' (<qu̯id: Hitt. kwit: Gk. ti,etc.) beside çka 'what' (fr. +qu̯idqu̯od,cf. Gk. tí-po-te, fr. +qu̯idqu̯odqu̯e). Cf. also *çiç*,rel.prn. 'what' : Hittite +kwitkwit : Lat. quidquid,etc. The word *çmoj* 'I honour, esteem' apparently equates with Gk. tīmáō,id. IE +qu̯ĭmāi̯ō.

For the rest, IE +stl- seems to be represented in EMAlb. *i glatë*,now *i gjatë* 'long': Lat. lātus 'broad',etc. IE +stl̥̄tos, with compensatory

IE $^+$ə resulting in Albanian -a-. Otherwise initial gj-,when it alternates with northern Albanian g'j- (usually written gi-), derives from initial $^+$gl- as in EMAlb. *i pa-glanë* 'im-pure'; cf. Gk. Glánis (a river-name), beside ($^+$ā) in glẽnos 'jewel, star, light' : OIr. W.Br. glan,OBr. glanet,pp. 'pure, clean'. IE $^+$glan-. (EMAlb. as exemplified in the Litany of Buzuk, 1555, usually preserves the initial cluster as *gl-*). Cf. also *n-gjis*, aor. *ngjita* 'I stick, apply' : Lat. glis, g.s. glitis'potter's clay' : Hes. glítton (expressive -tt-) 'glue' : OE cliða 'poultice'; cliðe 'burr' : Lith. glitas, glitis 'slime, glue': Latv.glita,id. IE $^+$glit-. Albanian type $^+$en-glitịō, with aphetic prefix.

As in Latin and (for the most part) in Greek, initial IE $^+$s is lost before $^+$l,$^+$m,$^+$n and $^+$r, cf. *ledh* 'alluvium, embankment' : MHG sluot, m. 'mud, puddle'. Type $^+$slōdh-; *múget* 'it gets dark'; *i mugët* 'dark';cf. OE smocian 'to smoke'. IE $^+$smug- ; *narth*, *nerth* 'feel cold'; cf. Gk. nárkē 'torpor', possibly related to OHG snaraha, OE snēarh 'snare', beside (E-grade) snërhan 'to constrict'. IE $^+$snerk̑-, snork̑-, snr̥k̑-. The Albanian and Germanic forms are in o-grade; *rrymë* 'current, stream':Gk. rheũma, id. IE $^+$sreum- . For *vjerr* 'I hang',cf. Gk. aeírō 'I raise' : Alb. *mvjerr* 'hang', a cpd. of *vjerr*, and for the simplex cf. Li.sveriù, svër̃ti, Latv. sveŗu, svērt 'weigh, lever up, raise'. IE $^+$su̯er-. The aorist form also agrees with Gk. and Lith. (Gk. ēeira : Li. svēriau : Latv. svēru : Alb. *vora*, *mvora*), and the long grade also appears in Go. swēran 'respect' , from swērs 'honoured' (lit. 'heavy').

Other sigmatic groupings are represented in the words that follow.In *bythë* 'arse' ; *përmbys* 'overthrow' a cognate of Gk. buthós, bussós 'depth', búthios 'deep' : Cz. bzdy 'buttocks'. IE $^+$busd-,$^+$busdịō. For *drithë* 'cereals', cf. OE grīst 'grist'. IE $^+$ghrīdhst-, the simplex in Gk. krīthḗ 'barley'. IE $^+$k̑s appears as a prefix in Albanian *sh-* and in *jashtë* 'out' : Gk. ektós,etc. IE $^+$ek̑sto-. IE $^+$-rs- appears to be present in *vorr*, T *varr* 'grave' ; cf. Lat. versus,ūs 'furrow' beside LLat. versana 'plowed field' ,cf. Lith. varsnas, varsna 'arable strip'. IE $^+$u̯ors-. The IE group $^+$qu̯s appears to be represented in *shog*'make bald': Gk. psēkhō 'shave, scrape'; *shalë*,pl. 'open legs': Gk. psalís 'vault, arch, pair of scissors', a form possibly present in Ossetic xäläf'trousers' , Ukr. xoljava 'boot-leg' : OCS xoleva 'shoe'; *shuej* 'erase, extinguish', archaic pp. shuet; cf. Gk. psaíō, fut. psēsō, adj. psaistós, v. 'crush, erase, raze' : Skt. kṣayāmi (3) 'destroy' : Hitt.sxwa-'pour, scatter' : OCS šajǫ, šajati 'remove'; shore 'rash on skin'; cf. Persian xăram ' I scratch, itch' (prob. o-grade), and Russ. šarju, šarit' 'rummage, scratch', for which the respective IE reconstructions would appear to be +qṷsāghō, +qṷsali- , +qṷsēi̭ō, and +qṷsērō.

The presence of such early Greek loans, or so-called "Doricisms", as fier 'fern' (Gk. pterís), hudhër 'garlic' (Gk.skórodon, via +skodoron), and rrufé 'lightning' (Gk. steropé) suggests that the synthesis of sigmatic groups was a relatively late feature of Albanian, indeed the presence of place-names and personal names beginning with Sc- in Illyrian confirm this view.

Geg â : Tosk ë : Rum.î

The parallelism between Albanian â (Tosk ë) and Rumanian î has been noted by many scholars. Indeed, so close is the affinity of these phonemes that a number of Latin terms common to both languages are represented with these vowels. Cf. i pugânë, T i pëgërë 'foul': Rum. păgîn 'pagan', all from Lat. pagānus; mâz, T mëz, Rum. mînz 'foal', cf. Ital. manzo 'steer'; mângë, T mëngë, Rum. mî́necă 'sleeve', fr. Lat. manica,id. Unlike Rumanian, however, Albanian â,ë́ (of this origin) always stands in a stressed syllable, whereas in Rumanian it may appear in an unaccented syllable, cf. Albanian mënoj 'I remain' : Rum. mîne, mîneà, id. from Lat. manēre; mëzát'steer': Rum. mînzàt,id., cf. It. manzotta 'heifer'.

There are, however, certain differences between Albanian and Rumanian usage. Albanian â (Tosk stressed ë) has a Geg variant in ê, which is due to an original +-i- or +-i̭- in the following syllable, and is thus analogous to German umlaut. This "umlaut" vowel seems to be present in N.Geg pêndë 'dam,weir', cf. Lat. pons, pontis 'bridge';vênd, T vënt, m. 'place', cf. Skt. vasatíḥ; zê 'takest, takes' , cf. Skt. haṁsi,hanti,IE +gu͓hensi, +gu͓henti ; êndem 'I wander' : Gk. áttomai,etc. Whereas Rumanian -î- also occurs in words of Slavonic origin, this is not so in Albanian, cf. Rum. mîndrŭ 'proud, fine' (OCS mǫdrŭ), and also passim in words without a nasal background (mîzga 'sap', osîrdiie 'zeal') as compared to Albanian -en-, -on- in send 'thing' (OCS sǫdŭ), trondis,-it 'I shake' (OCS $^{+}$trǫditi, the Albanian form being influenced by the inherited term trand 'shake': Polish trącić 'jolt'). Albanian â,ë can also arise in words where there is no IE background of nasality, as in âsht, T është 'is', as well as in the Latin loanword mâ, T më 'more' (contrast Rum. maĭ, from Latin magis). The nasal vowel does not apply to all nasal groups, cf. Geg and Tosk anë 'side',cf. Skt.antaḥ 'border, end', anti 'opposite, near' beside Gk. antí, Hitt. xanti, Goth. and- , OHG enti,etc. IE (Albanian type) $^{+}$antis. Cf. also janë 'they are' : Gk. éasi,etc. IE $^{+}$esn̥ti.

Rumanian -î- is a vowel of constricted type ("back-spread") such as is heard in Turkish (ı) and Russian (bI). Its origin is traceable to a compensatory effect similar in history to that of Czech -ů- and Ukrainian -i- as in dům : dim 'house' (from common Slavonic $^{+}$domu-), kůň : kiň 'horse' (from common Slavonic $^{+}$konjo-). In these words the loss of the final syllable has resulted in a lengthening of the root-vowel. This process would account for Albanian â (Tosk stressed ë) in âsht 'is' from $^{+}$estí (loss of -i), dhâmb 'tooth' from $^{+}$ĝombhos, mâ 'more' from Latin magis (loss of -gis), mângë 'sleeve' from Latin manica (loss of -i-).The phenomenon will be seen to have some bearing on the formation of the plural of nouns (see infra).

ADDENDUM

to PRINCIPAL WORKS CONSULTED. Page 238

GM. EWAS. G.Meyer: Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache , 1891; Albanesische Studien, five volumes, 1883 - 1896.

MORPHOLOGY

THE NOUN

The Indo-European Background

The Indo-European distribution of nouns by declension depended on aspect, which later developed into an association with gender. Nouns were distinguished by their stem-vowels, diathematic links to which were added endings representing the following cases: Nominative (-s), Accusative(-m̥), Genitive (-es), Possessive (-os), Dative (-ei), Instrumental (-mi, -bhi), Ablative (-it), and Locative (-i). The plural endings are believed to have followed a somewhat diverse pattern for which the reasons are not altogether clear: Nominative Plural (-es,-i), A.P. (-m̥s, -n̥s), G.P.(-ōm), D.P. (?), I.P. (-mis,-bhis), Abl.P. (?), L.P. (-su,-si̭u). Much simplification has taken place in the languages derived from parent Indo-European, so that no existing or recorded language represents the declension system as a whole. Noun-endings have in some languages been replaced by inflections of a pronominal type. The dual number has survived only in some of the Slavonic languages, but it was a feature of Greek and Sanskrit.

Of the Indo-European noun-system little has remained in Albanian. Of the five cases, the nominative and accusative,singular and plural, are alike; so are the genitive and dative, singular and plural. In this respect Albanian resembles Armenian. The ablative singular is identical to the dative singular, but in the northern dialects it ends in -t. The ablative plural ends in -sh, and,like the singular,functions almost like an adverb, since it commonly represents quantity, quality, size, or composition. Three genders are represented: masculine, feminine and neuter. The suffixed article, a feature shared by Rumanian, Bulgarian, and the Scandinavian languages, furnishes Albanian with a distinct set of endings that give the Albanian noun a distinct paradigm, though the postpositive elements are clearly of pronominal origin. Final -ë, characteristic of feminine nouns and some masculines, is a zero-ending that functions like e-mute in French, i.e. it is not pronounced (except in some conservative dialects of the extreme south), but adds slightly to the length of the preceding syllable. Thus, apart from the ablative, there is only one oblique inflexion for each gender, singular or plural. The oblique inflexion of the masculine singular is -i for nouns that do not end in a velar (k,g,h) or in accented -í. For these, the oblique inflexion is -u. For the feminine singular the oblique inflexion is -e, except when the word itself ends in -e (as in lule 'flower'), when the oblique inflexion is -je (luleje). The oblique inflexion of neuter nouns is the same as for masculine nouns (-i), the difference in gender appearing in the form of the article-suffix, which is -i for the masculine, -a for the feminine, and -t for the neuter nominative singular. For feminine nouns in accented -í the oblique inflexion is optionally -e or -je.

The oblique inflexion of the plural for all nouns is -ve. Since the plural is often distinguished from the singular by a diathematic element such as -a, -e, -je, -na (T -ëra), or by simple palatalization without inflexion, this element, in effect a plural stem-vowel, is preserved in the oblique inflexion also (-ave,-eve,-jeve,-nave, -ërave).

The ablative singular, which is often used adverbially, ends in -i,-u for the masculine and neuter, -e, -je for the feminine, and is thus identical with the oblique (genitive and dative) singular forms. In the northern dialects, however, the ablative singular ending is -it, -ut,-et, & -jet respectively. The ablative singular, like the ablative plural, does not occur in the definite form. The ablative plural ends in -sh, an ending that has been compared to Sanskrit -ṣu, Armenian -çi (an adverbial usage), Greek -si (as in khersí 'by means of the hands'), and the Slavonic locative ending -xŭ. Like the oblique (genitive and dative) plural ending, the ablative plural ending takes the characteristic plural stem-vowel (-ash, -esh, etc.). The stress position is invariable throughout declension (a single exception occurs in the definite plural forms of masculine nouns in -ull).

Masculine Nouns

Nom. and Acc.Sg.	Oblique	Nom. and Acc.Pl.	Oblique
burr 'man,husband'	burri	burra	burrave
mal 'mountain'	mali	male	maleve
gardh 'fence,hedge'	gardhi	gjerdhe	gjerdheve
shok 'comrade'	shoku	shokë	shokëve
hyll 'star'	hylli	hyj, hyje	hyjve,hyjeve
pópull 'people'	pópulli	pópuj	pópujve

zog 'bird'	zogu	zogj	zogjve
gisht 'finger'	gishti	gishtna, T gishtëra,-ërinj	gishtnave, T -ërave, -ërinjve
thue, T thua 'fingernail'	thoi,thoni	thonj	thonjve
shtrat 'bed'	shtrati	shtretën,T -ër	shtretënve, T -ërve
barí 'shepherd'	baríu	barí, T barinj	barive, T barinjve
vendës 'inhabitant'	vendësi	vendës	vendësve
	Feminine Nouns		
pelë 'mare'	pele	pela	pelave
lopë 'cow'	lope	lopë	lopëve
kohë 'time'	kohe	kohna, T kohëra	kohnave, T kohërave
lule 'flower'	luleje	lule	luleve
shtëpí 'house'	shtëpíe,-ije	shtëpí	shtëpíve
	Neuter Nouns		
drithë 'corn',pl. 'cereals'.	drithi	drithna, T -ëra	drithnave, T -ërave

Most neuters, and a small number of masculines, end in -ë in the nominative and accusative singular (*gjumë* 'sleep'; *brumë*, pl. *brume* 'leaven' ; *lumë*, pl. *lumna*, T *lumëra* & *lumënj* 'river'; *djalë* 'boy, youth', with an anomalous plural *djelmë*, *djel* (N), and *djem*; *kalë* 'horse', irregular in the plural *kuaj* ; *djallë* 'devil', irregular in the plural *djemën* beside the regular plural *djaj*,etc.). The last word reflects in its singular & plural respectively its derivation from Gk. diábolos and daímones.

Typological Background

The Indo-European protoglossa, as reflected in the derived languages, is one which displayed a large variety of stems, each representing some aspect of a semantic kind, such as single, individual, active, collective, derivative, familiar,etc. Etymology is able to supply the Albanian equivalents of many IE forms with clearly defined stems, but the former distinction of declension-pattern has entirely disappeared. Thus the word *dhâmb* 'tooth' (an IE o-stem), and *krimb* 'worm' (an IE i-stem) have identical singular inflexions; the plural form is distinguished only by the diathematic element (vowel, n-extension, or palatalism) that only rarely has an Indo-European background. Thus dhâmbë 'teeth', but krimba 'worms'; neither the zero-ending of dhâmbë, nor the -a-suffix of krimba reflects an Indo-European prototype, but is deemed to be due to compensatory lengthening of the root in the former (having lost its inflection +-os, +-om as in Skt. jámbhaḥ, jámbham, Greek gómphos, gómphon), and its absence in the latter (Skt. kŕ̥miḥ, kŕ̥mim, Lith. kirmìs, kirmį).This gave rise to two distinct types of singular radical, one with a higher mora-count, the other with a lower. The difference in the mora-count is reflected in the plural-stem only, the root with the higher mora-count attracting a zero-plural (written -ë-), the other —— a plural in -a.

The Indo-European Noun-stems as reflected in Albanian,

I. O-stems

ag, pl. agje 'light of dawn, glaze of death, dark mark round eyes of the dead': Gk. Hes. aũgos,n. 'dawn', beside augḗ 'light, shine'. The plural form agje equates with Gk. aúgion 'woad' ("dark colour") in its plural form +aúgia. (For masculine plurals in -je (or in palatalized velar plus -e) see below: shteg, varg). Other connexions uncertain, but cf. Vedic ójas, n. (2) 'light'. IE +aug-.

ah, pl. aha, ahe 'beech'. The apparent cognates are the Germanic forms: OIcel. askr,m. o-stem 'ash': MHG asch, OE æsc ,id. beside MHG esche,id . Other alleged cognates are untenable (cf. Boisacq: oxúa, for which the apparent cognate is Albanian ashe 'holly' (fr. +oksi̯ə)). The unusual pl. ahe seems to represent a collective of type +oski̯ə or +aski̯ə.

brâm 'lees of wax': Lat. fragmen 'scrap'. IE +bhraĝmo- beside +bhraĝm̥ , +-men-. The same root is present in brazëm,m. 'noise, bang' (+bhraĝimo-): Br. bramm, Corn. bram 'fart', cf. Ir. bramaim,v. beside braigim 'I fart'. A variant (with IE +ā) occurs in Latv. brāzma 'bang, bluster'. IE radical +bhrǎĝ- 'break'.

burr, T burrë, pl. burra 'man' : Skt. bhrūṇáḥ ("for +bhūrṇaḥ" —Monier-Williams) 'boy' : Per. burnā 'lad, youth' : OIcel. burr, pl. -ar, -ir,m. 'son'. Cf. Burī (a Dacian tribe) and the name Bura-beista (a king of the Getae). IE +bhr̥̄no-,i̯o- (with +-r̥̄- displaying u-basis in Albanian).

cub, pl. cuba 'robber'; adj.'docked, tailless; (of numbers) odd'. Cf.Skt.

tobhe 'hurt, kill' : Sw. tjuva (tobak) 'strip (of leaves) (tobacco)': Ukr. čubyty, Pol. czubić 'lug, tug'. IE +teubh-. Zero-grade in Skt. tubhyāmi 'hurt, kill' : Ir. tobhaim 'force, wrest, importune'. IE +tubh-. A further connexion with Goth. þjubs 'thief': Sw. tjuv, Ger. Dieb,etc. is uncertain (probably from +teup-, cf. Lith. čiáupiu, -ti 'squeeze, pinch' beside (o-grade) taupau, taupyti 'save (money))'

diell, pl. -a and diej 'sun': MIr. del 'brilliance' : Lith. dẽglas 'brand' beside dẽgalas 'wick'; pl. 'fuel': Latv. deglis, degulis 'tinder, firebrand'. IE +dhegu̯hlos.

djerr, pl. -e 'rough land, wasteland, fallow'; adj. 'fallow,waste' :Skt. harṣaḥ 'shaggy' : Tokh. tsär 'rough' : Gk. khérsos, khérros 'dry,barren, waste'; cf. Lat. man's name Hirrus (speculations under hircus — WH,EM), beside hirs-ūtus 'shaggy; rough, rugged'. IE +ĝhersos.

dhâmb, pl. dhâmbë (T dhëmp, dhëmbë) 'tooth': Skt. jámbhaḥ,id. Per. zam 'cheek, jaw' : Arm. (dim.) camak 'grubber, weeder (implement)': Tokh. A kam, B keme 'tooth' : Gk. gómphos 'spike, nail, tooth' : Ir. gomh 'pain', goimh 'venom, sting, malice' (cf. Alb. dhimbë 'pain' fr. ĝembh-): OEng . camb 'comb, crest', beside camm-oc 'rest-harrow': OIcel. kambr 'comb,ridge, crest' : OCS zǫbŭ 'tooth' : Lith. žam̃bas 'spike, jag, rib, seam,edge, wooden plow' : Latv. zobs 'tooth'. Loanword in Finnish hammas, pl. hampaat 'tooth'. IE +ĝombhos, beside +ĝembh- 'stab',etc.

fill, pl. fij 'point of sword' (obs. Buzuk); 'beginning' : Gk. spĩlos 'reef, crag; spot, stain' : Br. spīl 'icicle' beside spil'en 'pin' : MHG spīl 'tip, point, spear' ; beside MLG spīle 'spit' : Ger. Speil 'chip' : Du. spijl 'bar, rod'; (short vowel in) OE spile 'peg, spigot'; cf. also Nor. spile 'lath, stay' : Cz. spíle 'spit, skewer'(LW from Ger.?): Pol. śpila,id. : Blg. spìla 'rock, cliff' : Lith. spylỹs 'spit, thorn' beside Latv. spīle 'clamp, claw, mandible, cloven stick'. IE +spīlos, Alb.pl. from +spīli̯ə.

fruth, pl. -a 'measles' : Skt. spṛṣṭaḥ 'defiled', radical: spṛś- 'touch', cf. also spṛśniḥ 'speckled, dappled' : Lat. spurcus 'dirty, defiled'. IE +spr̥k̂to-, radical +spr̥k̂-.

gând 'harm': Skt. hatáḥ 'struck, afflicted' : Av. jatō,id. ;cf. Oss.qäd-(gom) 'wound' (cpd.) ; Hom. Gk. name (Arēi)-phatos : Ir. gunta 'wounded' OS wund, MHG wunt,id. OCS žętŭ 'reaped'. IE +gu̯hn̥tos. The verbal noun is represented in Skt. hatiḥ 'blow, slaughter' : Av. jaitis 'striking,blow', OIcel. und, pl. undir 'wound', with variants in MHG wunde 'wound': OCS žętva 'reaping', and Lith. giñčas 'quarrel'. The word *gând* 'offence, injury' belongs to the northern dialects, and is used adverbially in the phrases *për gând* 'by chance', *i ra gând*,'it touched him by mistake'. The denominative verb is *gândoj* 'I touch by chance, hurt, offend, injure'.

gángull 'bulging eye'; adj. 'bulging': Gk.goggulós 'round'; goggúlē,'turnip'; cf. Blg. găgliak 'woodlouse' and the OIcel. variant kǫngull,pl.kǫnglar 'cluster; knuckle'. IE $^{+}$gongul-.

gardh, pl. *gjerdhe* 'fence, hedge, enclosure': Go. gards 'house, yard'and common Germanic: OCS gradŭ 'wall, fold, stable, garden, town' and common Slavonic: Lith. gar̃das 'enclosure, fortified town': Finn. LW kartano 'yard, farm'. IE $^{+}$ghordhos. Zero-grade in Skt. gṛháḥ (2) 'house':Hindi gaṛh 'castle'. IE $^{+}$ghr̥dhos.

grúmbull, pl. *grúmbuj* 'heap, mass' : either Latv. grumbulis 'hump'; cf. EME crump-footed (club-footed), or LLat. grumulum 'wild gourd' beside grūmulus 'hillock' : Icel. krumla 'fist, paw': Lith. grùmulas 'lump'. IE $^{+}$grumbəlos or $^{+}$gruməlos. Gk-Alb. has also *grumbë* 'hunchbacked'.(Meyer).

grunë, T *grurë*, pl.id. 'wheat' (a former neuter noun): Skt. jīrṇā 'large caraway seed : Oss. dzärná 'frumenty' (wheat-pudding) : Per. arzan 'millet' beside zīra 'caraway seed' ; cf. Gk. -graína in gág-graina 'gangrene' (cpd. as gag-glíon) : Lat. grānum 'grain, corn, kernel': Ir. grán 'grain' (coll.), beside MIr. gráne 'acorn' : W grawn, Cor. Bret. groen 'grain' (coll.): OHG korn 'corn' and common Germanic: OCS zrŭno (zĭrno), R zernò, Pol. ziarno 'grain, berry' : Lith. žirnis,io 'pea', Latv zirnis id. IE (i-basis) $^{+}$ĝr̥nóm, with variants. IE $^{+}$ĝ is inhibited in Albanian before l/r. Albanian -*ru*- implies IE u-basis; the plural (*grunë*, T *grurë*) implies a long-mora radical vowel.

gjak, pl. *gjaqe* and *gjakna*, T *gjakra*, *gjakëra* 'blood': Tokh. saku,B sekwe 'pus, grease' : Scythian áskhu 'juice' (Herodot.) : Hitt.sakwis (queried) 'spring' or 'well' : Gk. opós 'juice, sap, moisture': Lat. succus (with infantine doubling of consonant) id. : OHG sou, OE sēaw 'moisture, exudate, sap' : Fris. sjeu 'gravy': OCS sokŭ 'juice, sap' : Serb. sôk,id. : Li. sakaĩ,mpl'pitch, gum, resin'. IE $^{+}$soqu̯os with variants. The Albanian plural forms represent (1) a collective ($^{+}$soqu̯i̯ə) similar in origin to OCS graždǐ 'stable, cowshed' in relation to gradŭ, and Albanian *gjerdhe* 'enclosures' in relation to *gardh* (IE +ghordhi̯ə : +ghordhos), cf. also Gk. oikía 'suite of rooms, dwelling' : oĩkos 'house'; Gothic ga-skōhi, OHG gi-scuohi 'footwear' beside skōhs, scuoh 'shoe'; Armenian majri 'forest' beside majr 'pine, cedar' ; Lith. avijà 'flock of sheep', avìs 'sheep' ; (2) a typological suffix, originating in the n-stem, representing (a) substances, and (b) natural phenomena. See below.

gjoll, pl. -*a*, 'seed-patch'; cf. Per. ni-hāl 'seedling, shoot'(but Persian -āl- is an ambiguous quantity, normally < +-r̥t-, +-r̥d- or +-r̥dh-):MIr. síl, Ir. síol 'seed' : W hil, pl. -ion,m.f. 'race, progeny' : Lith. and Latv. sēkla 'seed'. IE +sē-dhlom, +-dhlā, +-dhlis. Radical +sē- 'sow'.

hell,p. *hej*, *heje* 'spit, awl, sting': Oss. ḱala (2) 'branch' :Gk. skõlos 'thorn, stake, mattock' : OCS (and common Slavonic) skala 'rock'. IE +skōlos, Alb. pl. of type +skōli̯ə. Slavonic type +skōlā.

hir 'grace, charm' : Go. skeirs 'clear' (and common Gmc.): OCS štirŭ (Cz. čirý, Pol. szczery) 'whole, pure, sheer, honest'. IE +sk̂īros.

-*im*, verbal-noun extension of diathematic o-stems (IE +ā-stems), as in *hetim* 'inquiry' (:Lith. skaĩt-ymas 'act of reading');*dyzim* 'folding, duplication'(: Arm. krčimn 'division, difference'(< +du̯idim-)), from *hetoj* 'I enquire' (:Lith. skaityti 'to read'), *dyzoj* 'I fold, duplicate'. Cf. further Mod. Gk. pés-imon,n. 'act of falling' beside pēga-imos,m.'act of going': Ir. áir-eamh, g.s. -imh 'act of counting', maoidh-eamh, g.s.-imh 'act of telling'(fr. áirim, maoidhim,v.),etc. : Lith. pieš-ìmas 'act of drawing or painting'(: OCS pisǐmo 'writing') beside ēj-imas 'going', arimas 'plowing', grúd-ymas 'hardening',etc. IE +-ī̌mo-.

kând, T *kënt*, pl. *kânde*, *kënde* 'corner'. Whatever the background of this word, its cognates are of o-stem. For J.Loth it is Celtic in origin, but this would hardly account for its appearance in Albanian and Slavonic! A form +kantho- postulated for Gk. kanthós 'corner of the eye' by Boisacq is equally improbable. Cognates are Lat. (fr. Gaulish) cantus'iron tyre'; W cant 'edge, circumference': Br. kant, id. : OCS kǫtŭ 'corner' (and common Slavonic) : Lith. kantas 'edge' (also kanta, kantis,f.id.); cf.Latv. kantains 'angular'. The vowel of Albanian *kând* is not fronted to -*ê*- as in the i-stems *mênd* 'mind' and *pêndë* 'weir, dam', hence the plural in e must be a collective. Cf. Br. kanču 'circles, edges' beside kantu,id.

krak 'crow' or 'rook' (Buzuk); mod. krrak (expressive variant):Pol.Ukrainian kruk 'raven' : Latv. krauķis 'rook' beside krauklis 'raven,crow':OE hrēa (queried) 'rumbling of bowels'. IE +kraukos, with variants. Verbal cognates are Pol. kruczeć 'rumble in bowels': Cz. kručet 'croak, rumble in bowels' : Lith. kraũkti 'creak, groan'. Variant in Skt. króśaḥ'cry', fr. IE +krauk̂os.

kúngull, pl. kúnguj 'marrow, squash, pumpkin'; stër-kúngull,cpd. 'scrofula'. Cf. also kungë, pl. kunga,f. 'lump, hump, bump',etc. An onomatopoeic type of uncertain background. If from IE +kunkulos, cf.Lith. kunkulas 'bubble', beside kunkulys,io,id. : Latv. kunkulis 'small lump'. For Alb. kungë,cf. Eng. hunk , hunch : Lith. kungis,io 'potbelly': Latv.kunģis 'belly' beside kungulis 'lump' (variant of kunkulis above). Latvian kunce 'tadpole' derives from a type +kunki̯ə; Alb. kungë from +kungā or +kunkā.

lug, pl. lugje 'channel, groove, gutter, (— i bárkut) pit (of the stomach)'; lugë, pl. id.,f. 'spoon; groove' ; luginë, pl. -a 'valley'. Cf. Illyr. Loúgeon (name of a marsh')(for +lug-?): Ir. log, dim. luigín, m. 'hollow, dike' : OHG lohh 'hole' beside lucka 'gap' (Kluge 17:Loch,Lücke confused and untenable) : Sw. lucka 'trap-door' : OCS lŭža 'channel, canal' (fr. +lugi̯ə) beside lŭžica 'spoon'; cf. (ū) Lith. liūgýnas'low marshy ground'. IE +lug-.

mish, pl. mishna, T mishra 'flesh, meat'. This problematic word defies the usual rules of phonology. If it represents an IE type +mēmsom,as in Skt. māṃsám beside māṃs : Tokh. AB mīsa,pl. : Arm. mis : Lat.mēnsa, lit. +'meats', hence 'table' (Speyer, despite WH) : Umb. mefa 'table,libation' and(with short vowel) Go. mimz : OCS (and Common Slavonic) męso: Lith. mēsas : Latv. miesa 'body, flesh', the final consonant represents an IE +-nsi̯o-, with shortening of the vowel (since IE +ē > Alb. o). (The vowel -i- in the Albanian loanword kishë, dial. klishë 'church' derives from Gk. ē in ekklēsia only after it had become -i-). For Lat. mēnsa +'meats' cf. OLat. forbea 'food, meat' (cf. Eng. 'board' : Umb. furfant,3pl. 'set on a table', +furfo 'table', IE +bhr̥dho-) as an analogous transfer of semantics from 'food, meats' to 'table'.

múgull, pl. múguj 'shoot, sprout' : Dacian substrate in Rum. múgur,m.id: Ir. mogall 'apple of the eye, shock of hair, bunch': W mŵl 'lump' : Du.

mokkel 'plump person' : Lith. mugulis,io 'clumsy person': Finn.(loanword) mukula 'lump, gnurl' : Est. (loanword) mugulas,id. (Toivonen) : Marian (Cheremisian) múgyljo, múkle 'lump, bump'. IE $^{+}$mugulo-,$^{+}$mugəlo- 'excrescence'. A Sanskrit variant occurs in mukulaḥ, -am 'bud'.

plúhun, T plúhur 'dust'. The radical is $^{+}$pleus- or $^{+}$plus-, cf. Lat.plūma 'down-feathers, feather': MIr. ló 'flock of wool' : MHG vlius,vlies, b. 'fleece; fur' : Du. vlies 'fleece' (and common Gmc.). The extension -un,-ur is identical with that of the infinitive and past participle of verb-roots ending in a consonant, and is traceable to a form $^{+}$-m̥̄no- as distinct from $^{+}$-mno-, which results in Albanian -më (-m). Cf. mund 'defeat' : Gk. manthánō 'learn'; shtrungë 'milking-place at entrance to a fold' : Gk. stranx, g.s. strangós 'squeezed-out drop', but with possible Slavonic connexions, cf. Blg. străga 'milking-place', LW in Rum.strungă id. The vowel-background for Gk. -an- : Alb. -un- is $^{+}$-n̥̄-.

purth 'diarrhoea'; purth, për-purth 'defile with excrement':Skt.pṛśniḥ, adj. 'speckled, dappled'; cf. Arm. harsan-iť 'measles' :Gk. práknos 'black'; prákes 'roe-deer',pl. (Hes.) : OHG forhana 'trout'. IE $^{+}$pr̥k̂-.

qerth, pl. -e 'hoop, circle, ring, bobbin'; qérthull, pl. qérthuj'hoop, circle, wheel, winder'. For the simplex (IE $^{+}$kirk̂os) cf. Gk. kírkos,beside kríkos (2) circle, ring' : Lat. circus, id., circum 'around',circa 'about': Cz. o-krs 'circuit, region (not a LW!). For the extended form cf. Lat. circlus, circulus 'circle, ring' : OCz. o-krsl-ek 'circuit,region'; LW in MIr. cercal 'circle, hoop'. IE $^{+}$kirk̂lo-, krik̂lo-. Cf.also Lat. circēs, g.s. circitis 'hoop, ring' : OCS o-krĭstĭ 'around'. The Slavonic forms imply IE $^{+}$krik̂-, since palatalism of $^{+}$k- has not taken place. The IE short vowel $^{+}$-i- is represented by Alb. -e- before -ull as in mjégull 'cloud' (cf. Gr. omíkhlē : OCS mĭgla, Lith. miglà)and perhaps in vjédhull 'badger': Dacian substrate in Rum. viézure,id.See Note.

rryp, pl. usually rrypa (but also rrype, rrypë); rrip, pl. rripa,etc.m. 'strap, belt, strip' : Latv. virpas,f.pl. 'lathe' ;cf. Lith. virplỹs,io 'tumbler-pigeon'. IE $^{+}$u̯r̥p- 'twist, bend, turn'.

shteg, pl. shtigje 'path': Gk. stoĩkhos 'line': Go. stáiga 'path' : Du. steeg 'alley' : Sw. steg 'step, rung' : MHG steic, -ges 'rise' : Latv. staiga 'walk'. IE $^{+}$stoighos,ā.The plural form is considered to be collective ($^{+}$stoighi̯ə). See Note below.

tharm, pl. -e 'barm; acid': Lith. šármas 'lye, alkali'; šarmà 'hoarfrost' Latv. sārms 'lye' ; sarma 'hoarfrost'. IE $^+$k̂orm- (or $^+$k̂arm-). A parallel form occurs in Alb. i thartë 'sour, acid' (G and T), cf. Skt. śaṭaḥ, id. IE $^+$k̂ortos(or $^+$k̂art-). Ger. herb, dial. harb 'harsh', and harben,v. 'to exasperate' : Eng. to harrow,imply a background $^+$k̂oru̯o- (or $^+$k̂aru̯-).

thirr 'soot'. The value of Albanian -rr is ambiguous, cf. Gk. kirrós, kirsós 'dun' : MIr. ciar, cpds. cir- 'dark', fr. $^+$k̂irsos, with variants in Lith. šir̃vas 'grey', Latvian sirms,id. IE $^+$k̂iru̯os, $^+$k̂irmos.

ujk, ulk, pl. ujq 'wolf' : Skt. vṛ́kaḥ : Av. vəhrkō: OPer. varka: Per. gurg : Tokh.B walkwe : Go. wulfs (and Common Germanic): OCS vlŭkŭ: Pol. wilk (i-basis): Srb. vûk : Li. vil̃kas : Latv. vilks. IE $^+$u̯l̥qu̯os. Alb. -u- in ujk,ulk is a residual echo of IE $^+$u̯, cf. drû 'tree', dru,gen.sg. druje 'timber, firewood', from $^+$dr̥u̯o-, dr̥u̯i̯ə. Palatalism in the plural indicates a collective form ($^+$u̯l̥qu̯i̯ə), and the zero-stem indicates long-mora vocalism in the singular, a fact reflected in the Serbian form w. circumflex tonality (vûk). Similarly dru,pl.'firewood'(def.drutë), sg. dru, gen. druje, reflects the circumflex of Serb. dȓvlje,id.

urth, g.s. urthi, beside urdh, g.s. urdhi; also urdhë,f. 'ivy;shingles, herpes'. Prototype $^+$u̯r̥k̂- beside $^+$u̯r̥ĝ- or $^+$u̯r̥ĝh-, the general sense being 'twist, wind'. For IE $^+$u̯r̥k̂- cf. Gk. rhákos, Aeol. brákos,n.'tatter, wrinkle, robe' beside arakós 'vetch', árkus 'net'; Hes. brakía 'undergrowth'; prob. Lat. virca 'dungworm': Gallo-Lat. bricum 'mugwort': R vors 'nap, pile' beside vorsìt' 'to tease, card' : Latv. virši 'heather'. For IE $^+$u̯r̥ĝ-, cf. Skt. vṛjanaḥ 'enclosure'; vṛjanīḥ 'enclosure;intrigue' (lit. 'twist') : Per. gīğ 'vertigo', probably also Gk. rháx, g.s.rhāgós 'bunch of grapes'. The rest of the evidence implies $^+$u̯r̥ǵ- or $^+$u̯r̥ĝh- : Tokh.B. (queried) warke 'garland' : Ir. frigh 'fleshworm': OCS vrŭza 'puzzle': Blg. vrŭz 'sprout' : Srb. vrz-ina 'wattle fence': Lith.vir̃žis 'rope, string, withy, strap ; víržis 'heather': Latv. virza, virzes,pl. 'chickweed'.

va, g.s. vau, pl. (G) vana ; T va, def. vaja,f.,pl. va 'ford': Lat. vadum,id. : OHG wat,n. : OE waed : OIcel. vað : Du. wad,id. : Sw.vad,id. IE $^+$u̯adhom.

vâng, T vënk, g.s. vëngu, pl. vângje, vëngje 'hoop, rim, iron tyre',beside i vângët, T i vëngër, i vëngërt 'cross-eyed'. The Tosk form of the

Geg word **vâng** has been supplied from Fjalori i Gjuhës Shqipe,Tirana,Albania, 1954, but appears to be of Geg origin. This form is difficult to trace to an unambiguous prototype. Greek ámbē 'rim, brim, edge' indicates a prototype +u̯angu̯ā. Sanskrit vaṇkaḥ 'roaming; bend in a river' implies +u̯ank-,+u̯onk- (or +u̯anqu̯-, +u̯onqu̯-). Ossetic wăng, wong, ong ; Digorian jong, iwong can represent any of the foregoing formulae, but with +-u- or +-u̯- in the suffix. Gothic -wāhs 'blameworthy' : OE wōh 'crooked' : OS wāh,n. 'evil' represents a type +u̯ank- or +u̯onk-, with loss of the nasal. Here also probably belongs OCS pa-ǫkŭ 'spider' : Cz. pa-vouk,id. Swedish vank 'flaw, defect' is compared by Hellqvist to the common Germanic root wank- 'go, turn, wander'. IE +u̯ang- or +u̯ong-.The common Germanic root wang- 'bend in river, meadow by river' suggests a radical +u̯ank- or+u̯onk-. Thus Albanian **vâng**,etc. represents one of four formulae: +u̯ank-+u̯onk- or+u̯angu- +u̯ongu- (+u̯angu̯-, if related to Greek ámbē).

varg, pl. **vargje** 'chain, series' : Gk. órkhos,id. Other connexions uncertain. IE +u̯orghos,+-i̯ə.

verr, pl. -**a** 'alder': Gaul.verna,id. beside Gallo-Lat. vernētus 'alder-bed' ; LW in Fr. verne, vergne,id. : Ir. fearn,id. : Br.W. gwern,id. IE +u̯ernos. Albanian +u̯erni̯o- to account for -e- (not -je-).

vidh, pl.-**a** 'elm'; cf. Kurdish wuzm,id. : OE wice 'witch-elm'. IE type +u̯iĝ-, with parallel form +u̯inĝ- in Slavonic.

vjehërr, pl. **vjehrra** (T **vjehër**, **vjehra**) 'father-in-law': Skt. śváśuraḥ (with assimilated consonants): Gk. hekurós : Av. qasurō : Lat. socer: W chwegr-wn : Go. swaíhra : OHG swëhur : OE swēor : OCS svekrŭ (with internal velar for IE +-k̂-) : Li. šešuras, šešeras (with assimilated consonants) : Per. xusur,id. IE +su̯ek̂uros. Armenian ḱer̃i 'maternal uncle' is from an adjectival type +su̯ek̂rii̯o-. The Albanian form is often accompanied by the particle (**i** **vjehërr** 'own father-in-law').

vrúndull 'whizz, whirr, hum'. An onomatopoeic type with variants,cf. Skt. vr̥ndam 'crowd' (and OE worn 'crowd') : Gk. árados 'throb, uproar', Hes. arádō 'make a din' : Cz. řádit 'rampage' (+u̯rŋ̥d-) beside Srb. vrndati 'hum, purr' (+u̯urund-). Cf. also EME wornil 'larva of warble-fly'.Alb. type +u̯r̥ndəl- or +u̯rŋ̥dəl-. The onomatopoeic character of this word is evident from Norman French vronder, vronner, vrondre 'to whirr'.

zog, pl. zogj 'bird': Per. zāy 'crow, raven'. Type +gu̯ēgu̯-, of onomatopoeic origin, cf. (with short vowel) Lith. gegē 'cuckoo'.

zjarr, zjerm, pl. usually -e 'fire': Skt. (o-grade) gharmáḥ 'heat': Av. garəmō 'warm'; garəmus 'heat' : OPer. garma-; Per. garm 'warm': Osset. qarm, id. : Tokh.A śärme, id. : Arm. ǧerm 'hot, warm' : Gk. thermós, id., thérmē 'heat' : OLat. formus 'hot'; cf. Lat. town Formiae : Ligurian in place-names Bormium and Aquae Bormiae; Goth. +warms (and common Germanic) IE +gu̯hermos, beside +gu̯hormos in Indo-Iranian, Latin, Ligurian and Germanic. Root +gu̯her-, +gu̯hor-, +gu̯hr-. Of doubtful connection are the Dacian place-names Germi-sara ("hot saltsprings"?) beside Sarmi-zegetusa (cf. Alb. zjarr 'fire' and djeg 'burn' ?), as well as Lith.(Žemaitē) germē 'virgin forest',(cf. Li. šilti 'grow warm': šilas 'pine-forest'). Note (1) Masculine plurals in -e, with prepalatalization of the velars k to q and g to gj are derived, according to Eqrem Çabej, from collectives (IE +i̯ə). But the collective derivation applies only to nouns of o-stem, not to nouns of i-stem (see below: mal 'mountain'), and only to those with a short mora in the singular. Nouns with a long mora display the same palatalism of the velar, but reduce the inflexion to zero, cf. the Latin loanword mik 'friend', plural miq, with long-mora in the singular owing to loss of -a- in the prototype (Latin amicus). Hence zog 'bird' is a noun with a long mora, since its plural is zogj. The Latin loanword shok 'comrade', equally with a long mora in the singular, due to loss of Latin -ius in socius, has, like zog, a zero-plural, but not a collective ending (pl. shokë, from socii). See note (2).

(2) From the foregoing it will be seen that Albanian pays little attention to historical grammar in its plural forms. These have almost universally become typological, and reflect neither IE nor Latin originals. Thus shteg 'path', and gardh 'fence', plural shtigje, gjerdhe belong to a category of manmade features also reflected in thark 'silo, pen', pl. tharqe and tharq, but the reason for the internal vowel change in shtigje and gjerdhe is obscure. Names of natural features, such as mot 'year, weather', kohë 'time', ujë 'water', and occasionally substances such as gjak 'blood' attract the diathematic plural stem -na, T -ra. Despite this purely Albanian feature, there is a parallel between the implied long-mora in ujk, ulk (plural ujq, ulq) and the circumflex

vowel of its Serbian cognate vûk, and between the Albanian plural *dru-të* 'firewood' (with suffixed plural-article) and the Serbian collective dȓvije, id.

(3) The forms *qerth*, *qerthulloj* have loanword doublets from Latin , viz. *qark* 'circuit, area', *qarkulloj* 'I circulate' (from circus, circulare).(There is no evidence of Albanian -*th*- representing Latin k/c!)

(4) Most neuter forms are typological, and are distinguished by the addition of the neuter singular suffix-article -*t*, though the alternative masculine article -*i* is applicable to most nouns of this type. The declension of neuter nouns is otherwise identical with that of masculine nouns. Neuters still current, i.e. by substituting the article-suffix -*t*, are *ballë* 'forehead, front' (:Gk. phálos 'frontal piece on helmet', cf. also phál-aina, phállaina 'whale' ("terrible forehead").(For Gk.ainós'terrible', cf. OIr. anfine 'enemy, stranger': OE unwine, id. IE $^+$n̥u̯in-). (The Latin form bal-aena, ballaena is derived from Illyrian according to WH on account of b-). *brumë* 'leaven, plastic', cf. *mbruj* 'knead, leaven, ferment', *zbruj* 'knead, pulp, digest'. This noun, by gender and usage, is a deverbal neuter extended in IE by $^+$-men-, $^+$-mn̥- as in Latin stā-men : Gk. stēma : Skt. sthāman : Lith. stomuõ, g.s. -meñs, etc. The root is in zero-relationship to $^+$bheru̯- (Germanic $^+$bhreu-) as in Lat. ferveō, fervō 'be hot, ferment' : MIr. berbaim : Br. birvi, pp. bervet : W berwi : OS breuwan 'brew'. Albanian type $^+$bhrū̆- as in Lat. dē-frutum 'grog' : MIr. broth 'rash'; bruth 'heat, fever; mass of (hot) metal': W brwd 'hot, acrid' : Br. brud 'scalding' : OBrit. brot, brut 'zeal' : Cor. brōs 'sultry; stew' : OE broþ 'broth' (all with $^+$-u-), and Thracian brūtos, beside broũtos 'beer'. Albanian type $^+$bhru-mn-, or $^+$bhreu-mn-. The Albanian form is seen in Latin frūmen 'sacrificial porridge'(WH untenable) . *djathë* 'cheese', from an IE type $^+$ĝhesito- (via $^+$ĝheḱito- with assimilated consonants), is reflected in OIcel. gerð 'yeast, ferment'beside OE & Du. gist : MLG gëst : Norw. gjest, id. The root ($^+$ĝhes-) is seen in OHG gërōn 'ferment' beside gësan, id. : Norw. gjære beside Sw. gäsa, id. with a variant in LG Gäscht: Ger. Gischt 'froth' . *drithë* 'cereals'; cf. Gk. krīthḗ 'barley' , Lat. hordeum, id. and OHG gersta, id. The Albanian vocalism is ambiguous, $^+$ĝhr̥sd- (as implied for hordeum), or $^+$ĝhrisdh- (as implied for krīthḗ. A prototype $^+$ĝhrīdhst- is possible in view of O.Eng-

lish grīst 'grist, corn for grinding' . dyll 'wax' (according to Sh. Demiraj) is a neuter form that is still current, though normally masculine. Apparently from a prototype +ĝheu̯ilo- ("fluid, what pours") but without ascertainable cognates (Greek kheĩlos 'lip' seems to be excluded by the sense; cf. however Armenian dzujl 'cast, molten', from a root +ĝheu̯-(Gk. khéō 'I pour' : Skt. hav-,id.)). dhallë 'buttermilk': Rum. substr. zară 'buttermilk'; zer 'whey' : cf. Skt. jalám 'fluid': Ir. gall 'milk', fr. +ĝăl-, but with extensions +-ăk-,+-ăkt- implied for parallel forms seen in Alb. dhalltë (beside dhallë) : Gk. gála, g.s. gálaktos 'milk': Latin lac, gen.sg. lactis,id. : OIr. glass 'milk'. Other Celtic forms are apparently loanwords (W llaeth 'milk', beside galaeth 'galaxy'; Ir. lacht 'milk, fluid',etc.). dhjamë 'fat' (with a compensatory vowel represented by -ja-) , apparently a "Doricism" derived from a form of Gk. dēmós, of uncertain etymology. grûn, T grurë 'wheat', fr. IE +ĝr̥̄nóm, with cognates passim. gjalpë 'butter' : Skt. sarpís,n. 'clarified butter'; Cypriot Gk. hélpos, -eos 'butter' : Tokh. ṣälјp, B ṣaljpe 'oil, fat'. IE +selpos,n . hundë 'nose' , of unknown origin . kos 'yogurt', of unknown origin, speculations in WH: cāseus, Preobraženskiĭ: kvas, possibly Tataric, cf. Tk. kaşer, kaşar 'cheese'. krye 'head', pl. krêna, krerë : Gk. krānion, etc. IE +k̂r̥̄nii̯o-. lesh 'wool' from a type +u̯l̥̄si̯o-, cf. Lat. volsus, vulsus,beside (e-grade) vellus 'fleece'. For +l̥̄ > Alb.-le- cf. Srb. tȓg and the Albanian LW treg 'market' (the same long-zero vowel-liquid seems to be present also in predhë (cf. pjerdh 'break wind') and drekë (cf. darkë,f. 'supper')); mish 'meat, flesh' (of uncertain phonology) . mjaltë 'honey': Hitt. melit,id. : Myc. and Gk. méli, g.s. mélitos,id. ; adjectival in Scythian melítion,'a (+honey) drink': Go. miliþ, id. ; Lat. mel, mellis id. OIr. mil,id. beside meild,id. : OBr. W.Br.Cor. mel (mêl),id. represent a truncated form also present in Alb. mjal 'honey'(Italo-Albanian). An adjectival form is represented in mjalcë 'bee': Gk. melíssios 'made by bees' : Gaul. melisso- 'sweet': OIr. milis,id. : W melys,id.:Scythian melítion (a drink) ; cf. Hitt. meliddus 'swect' (-dd- for +-tt-):OE sūrmelst 'sour-sweet' ; Lith. mēlisa 'nectary'. IE +melit, (adj.)+melitio̯-. prush 'embers'(n. only in Kr.Elbasan): OIr. riches 'coals': Br. régez, m. coll.'embers': OBr. régist-en 'glowing coal'(sg.) : W rhysyn,id.: Latv. pirkstis,pl. 'embers' ;cf. Li. pirkšnys. IE +pr̥kst- beside +pr̥kist-. A variant occurs in OCS prŭstĭ (pĭrstĭ), R perstʼ 'loess'. IE $^{+}$pr̥k̂sti-. *trû* 'brain', def. *trû-të* is sometimes regarded as a plural. A singular form occurs with a definite suffix *trû-ni*, T *tru-ri*, etymology unknown.

It will be observed that the above nouns are distinguished by typology as much as by history. Of the historical forms, *dhallë* and *mjaltë* have a neuter background in IE. The word *gjalpë* 'butter' is a noun of -os/-es- type (cf. Lat. genus: Gk. génos), while *krye* 'head' is the extended form of a type $^{+}$k̂r̥- 'head'. The i-stem *elb* 'barley' corresponds to a neuter Greek type in álphi. The word *ve*, pl. id. 'egg' : Lat. ovum, etc. is now feminine (def. form: *veja*), and *viç* 'calf' reflects only the adjectival form of Gk. éteios 'yearling' as against étos,-eos 'year', cf. Skt. vatsáḥ 'calf'.

The incidence of vowel-fronting (Umlaut) in Albanian is no proof of antiquity. Cf. the Latin LW *peshk* 'fish', pl. *peshq*, *pishq* and *peshqe* ; the French loanword mustak, pl. *musteqe* 'moustache' (!), and the recent LW *advokát*, *avokát* , pl. *advoketën*, T *avokatër* (!). One can hardly look to Albanian plural forms for evidence of archaism, so that a word like *shtrat* 'bed', pl. *shtretna*, *shtretën*, *shtrate* and *shtrete* can just as easily be derived from Latin as from IE. A curious form of vowel-backing (Rückumlaut) occurs in a few masculine nouns containing the phoneme -*th*-. Examples of this are *thes* 'bag, sack', pl. *thasë*; *thek*, pl. *thakë* 'fringe', *rreth* 'hoop, circle', pl. *rrathë*. The first is of uncertain origin, the second derives from a type $^{+}$k̂ak- 'spike', cf. Per. sag-ak, dim. form 'buckle': Skt. śak-uláḥ 'spur on cow's hoof' : Lith. šakà 'branch', šakē 'fork'. The Albanian plural form *thakë* has the secondary meaning of 'awns', and is clearly related to *thekën*, T *thekër*, f. 'barley', from a type $^{+}$k̂akinā.

II. I̯O-stems

Nouns of this type are frequently derived from a simplex without yot, and are thus similar in origin to adjectives that have a yot-formant, cf. Gk. lókhios in relation to lókhos, Latin rēgius in relation to rēx. This formation frequently leads to a final consonantism consisting of secondary consonants, such as -c, -s, -z, -x, -ç for the IE dentals and palatals, and -q, -gj for the IE velars. The IE labials are unaffected by palatalism, but IE $^{+}$s, when iotacised, appears as Albanian -sh, and IE li, ri̯ appear respectively as Albanian -l and -rr.

brez,pl. -a 'generation'. Type +bhr̥̄di̯o-. In o-grade are Lat. forda 'fertile' : Illyrian (equa) bardia'pregnant (mare)' : MHG barzen 'be full' : Albanian m-bars 'fecundate, impregnate' (+en-bhordi̯ō). In e-grade is OCS brěždĭ 'pregnant'(and common Slavonic), type +bherdi̯o-. (In the sense of 'girdle, belt, wall-brace' the background is uncertain, cf. Rum. brîu, m. 'girdle', possibly from a type +bhr̥̄ĝ- 'restrain', cf. Gk. phrássō, mp.aor. ephrágēn 'enclose, constrict'(Bois. and Hof. untenable).

dash, pl. desh 'ram'. The IE formula +dheus-,+dhous-,+dhus- have the general sense of 'spirit, breath, creature', cf. Latin animus, anima,animal. The e-grade is represented in Gothic dius 'animal'(and common Germanic) ; zero-grade occurs in Gaulish dusios 'demon' and in OCS dŭx-nǫti 'blow, breathe': Li. dusti, Latv. dust 'to pant' : Gk. thúō 'burn (incense)',beside thuíō 'rage, rave'. The Albanian formula +dhousi̯o- is represented in the Illyrian name Dasios, Dazios : Messap. daoza-, dozas (z = a palatalized -s-, perhaps ś or š): OCS duxŭ 'spirit, breath'; duša 'soul': Lith. daũsos 'upper air, paradise'; cf. Gk. en-thousía 'inspiration'.

dem,pl. -a 'bullock' : Skt. damyaḥ 'bullock for taming' : W dof,pl.dofion 'tame', radical +dom- 'tame, domesticate' as in Skt. damayāmi : Lat. domāre : Go. ga-tamjan,etc. Cf. OCS pri-domiti 'to domesticate'. Long zero-grade in Gk. damáō 'tame' (+dm̥̄ăi̯ō).

duej, T duaj, pl.id. 'sheaf'. The radical is +dē- as in Skt. dāman'band': Gk. dẽma,id., cf. Gk. dēsō 'will tie', aor. édēsa. Albanian type +dēi̯o-.

hyj, pl. hyja, hyj & hyjna 'god, deity'. Def. form also hy-u (beside hyji) IE radical +sku-,+skuu̯-. Cf. Go. skuggwa 'mirror', OIcel. sk‎ý́, gen.p. -ja 'sky' : Cz. skvíti se 'shine', skv-ělȳ 'brilliant'. LW in Finn. kuva'picture'. Albanian type+skuu̯i̯o-.

lesh, pl. -na, T -ra 'wool, hair of head'. Type +u̯l̥̄si̯o- as in Lat. vulsus 'plucked', cf. vellus 'fleece' (u̯elso-). Speculations in Boisacq:lásios.

mes, gen.sg. mezi 'middle, juncture, waist'. IE +medhi̯os as in Skt.mádhyaḥ: Gk. mésos : Lat. medius : Osc. mefia-,f. : Gaul. medio-,etc.

prush 'embers' ; cf. OIr. riches 'coals': Br. régez 'embers': Obrit.régisten 'ember': W rhysyn, coll. rhysod,id. (all from +pr̥̄kst-) :Latv.pirkstis,id. ; cf. Lith. pirkšnys,id. A neuter form prush-t (Kristoforidhi)may represent a prototype with final -t (cf. dhalltë beside dhallë 'buttermilk') in which -t has come to be regarded as the neuter definite article.

rrush, pl. id. 'grape; grapes'. Type +reusi̯o-, from a verbal root +reus- 'pull, tug ' : Oss. luxĭn, loxun 'drag': MHG riusen 'stretch';cf.OE rēosan 'peas' or sìm.

rryp, pl. -*a* (also -*e*,-*ë*) 'strap, belt'. Radical +u̯r̥p- 'twist, bend'.Cf. W gwar 'nape'; Br. gwar-ek,dim.type 'bow, arch': Latv. virpas 'lathe' ; Sw. yrfä 'insect'. Albanian type +u̯r̥pi̯os or +u̯r̥pis.

shtoj 'arid soil' . IE +sthāi̯o- as in Skt. sthāyaḥ 'receptacle': W saw 'stop': OCS stajŭ 'dwelling' : Cz. stáj 'stable' : Li. stõjis 'stand,deportment'; f. in OCS staja 'stall' ; Blg. 'room': Latv. stāja ' 'deportment'.

viç, pl. -*a* and T -*ëra* 'calf'. Type +u̯etesi̯o-. Cf. Skt. vatsáh 'calf'(lit. "yearling"): Gk. éteios 'yearling'. Radical in IE +u̯etos,-es- 'year'.(See below: Neuter -es-stems).

III. A-*stems*

IE a-stems are believed to derive from neuter collective forms in -a,later identified with the neuter plural. Some languages preserve this usage by forming an occasional plural of o-stems in -a, cf. Gk. kúklos 'wheel', pl. kúkla; Russian gòrod 'city', pl. gorodà. An echo of the transference of meaning from neuter "plural" to feminine singular is observable in the shift from the Latin neuter folium 'leaf' to modern Italian and French foglia, feuille, which are feminine. The semantic shift appears to be from 'foliage' to 'leaf'. Compare also Sanskrit māṃsám and its plural māṃsá, both in the sense of 'meat', the presumed derivation of Latin mēnsa 'table' from a lost prototype meaning 'meats', and the feminine gender of Lithuanian mēsà 'meat, flesh'.

Albanian a-stems are identifiable by the declension of the singular (in -*e*, representing both IE +āi̯s for the genitive and +āi̯ for the dative). Most are of feminine gender, but a few pejoratives of a-stem are masculine, as is also the hypocoristic *tatë* 'daddy'. Feminine deverbatives in -*më* are distinguished from similar masculine forms in -*më* by gender and origin, the latter being apparently reflexes of IE neuters in +-men/-mn̥ . A small number of deverbative feminines end in -*imë*. These represent a category of words whose verbal form ends in -*ij* and represent noises,etc. A generalizing extension in -*inë*, as in *lug-inë* 'valley', *rreth-inë*'surroundings', has an analogue in Latin, Slavonic, Lithuanian and elsewhere.

A small number of feminines have become open monosyllables due to the loss of a final $^{+}$-d- or $^{+}$-dh- (e ve 'widow', thní 'nit', the Latin loanword pré 'prey', and the word flí 'sacrifice', whatever its origin). In these words the oblique inflection is -je, in which -j- is no more than a phonetic glide-consonant.

The plural-themes are -a, -ë (zero), and -na, T -ra. As with masculine nouns, these are partly syntactical (depending on the original mora-quantity of the root), and partly typological (thus the plural-theme in -na,-ra often indicates states or conditions, and substances).Disyllabic feminine nouns form the plural in -a, as in vegël 'tool', pl. vegla, and in the loanword rrégull 'rule', pl. rrégulla, vepër 'literary work', pl. vepra,etc. In these forms the implied zero-vowel ("e-mute") is suppressed. In monosyllabic feminines, the plural formation sometimes varies according to dialect, thus degë 'branch', pl. degë, but dega in the northern (Geg) dialect. The choice of -a or -ë as the plural sign appears to have no relevance to semantics, cf. pelë 'mare', pl. pela, but lopë 'cow', pl. lopë. Otherwise, the zero-plural, with or without -ë, is characteristic of the consonantal stems (dyer 'doors', net 'nights', dit 'days') , and of the i-stems (lotë 'tears'). The zero-plural of a-stems, like that of o-stems, is associated with radicals whose vowel is nasal (â) in Geg, ë in Tosk. This seems to indicate an original long-mora base, resulting in a plural theme reduced by compensation.(See pp. 40-41). Examples are lândë 'timber, material' : Gk. elátē 'fir': Hitt. alanc(a)'kind of wood': Br. lann 'juniper' : OIcel. lundr 'copse, tree': Lith. lentà 'board' (w. metathesis); cf. Latv. lieta 'matter, subject'. IE $^{+}$eln̥tā, $^{+}$ln̥tā; kâmbë 'leg, foot'(cf. Rhaeto-Rum. chamma 'leg'); kângë 'song' (fr.Lat.cantica); mângë 'sleeve' (fr. Lat. manica),etc. The Tosk forms are respectively lëndë, këmbë, këngë and mëngë, all with zero-plural in -ë. Compare the o-stem noun dhâmb, T dhëmb, pl. dhâmbë, dhëmbë 'tooth'; 'teeth'.

âmë, âmzë 'scent, savour' : Gk. odmḗ, osmḗ 'smell'; cf.(with $^{+}$ō) Latvian osma 'smell'. IE $^{+}$odmā, $^{+}$odsmā. The form âmzë indicates metathesis.

âmë, e —, T e ëmë, pl. -a 'mother'. A universal infant-word of type $^{+}$amā, ammā. Cf. Tokh. B amma-, id. : Osc. amma 'nurse'; LLat. amma 'mother' ; am-ita 'aunt' : OHG amma 'mother, midwife, foster-mother': OIcel. amma 'grandma': Sw. amma 'nurse': OFris. amme 'mother'. Basque ama 'mother'.

arë, pl. -a 'field' ; cf. Messap. aran,acc.(in phr.read tentatively as: 'Claudius Theodorius sells? gives? to the city of Basta his field'): Hes. áros 'field' : Cypro-Myc. (queried) aros,id. : Arm. cpd. v-ar 'tilth' : OIr. ar'ploughed land,ploughing' : W ar,id. : OE ear 'earth'. IE $^{+}$ar- , root of Lat. arāre, arātrum,etc.

arnë, pl.-a 'patch, repair'; cf. Arm. ar̄nem 'do, make'; ḥ-arem 'join,fix' beside v-ar̄ 'armour'; Hitt. armanca ("armants") ,pp. 'joined', armahhi 'I join', armaniyami 'am joined', armeci 'bridge'; Epic Gk. ármenos'fitted' ; Lat. armen-tum'team, herd, drove'. IE radical $^{+}$ar- 'join,make' , Albanian type^{+}ar-n-.

badhër, pl. badhra 'narcissus'. From a type^{+}bhodrā, root^{+}bhod- as in Lat. fodiō 'dig', OCS bodǫ, bosti 'stab': Lith. badaũ, badyti,id. :Latv.badu, īt,id., so-called from the shape of the leaves. Albanian badhër is isophonic with Skt. bhadrā 'sedge'. MIr. bodal 'penis': OCS bodlĭ 'thorn' : Gk. as-phódelos 'king's spear, asphodel' (as- = "plant") : Ger. Batzel 'pimple' (lit. "point"), and Eng. dial. battle-twig 'earwig' display a variant of type $^{+}$bhodel-,$^{+}$bhodl-.

bathë, pl. id. 'broad bean': Gk. phakós 'lentil'; cf. also a-phákē 'kind of vetch'; phásēlos, phasíolos 'French bean' (-s- from^{+}ki̯ as in seúō).Cf. perhaps Lat. (from Ligurian?) bacca 'berry', and Avestan baxtō ' leguminous'. IE $^{+}$bhaḱ-, but without further documentation.

bungë, pl.-a 'lump, hump': Lat. fungus 'growth, wax round wick, dolt' : OHG. Icel. bunga 'lump' ; cf. Ger. Bunge 'drum' : Latv. bungas,pl.id. IE $^{+}$bhungh-.

bythë, pl.id. 'bottom, buttocks'. Apparently with a sythetic consonantof type $^{+}$-sd- or^{+}-sdh-. Cognates are uncertain, but cf. Gk. buthós 'depth', beside bussós,id. and the adjective búthios 'deep'. Here apparently belong archaic Czech bzed 'fart', bzdy,pl. 'arse'. For the iotacized form cf. Albanian për-m-bys pp. -m-bysun 'overthrow'; Gk. bussós, and Czech bez, adj. bzí 'elder' : R boz,id. (from the smell). IE $^{+}$busdh- beside $^{+}$busd-. The source of Albanian -y- in bythë may be $^{+}$u followed by $^{+}$i,qua $^{+}$busdhi-, but the vowel also occurs in words where vowel-fronting is not apparent, as in byk 'chaff', dyll 'wax',etc. The vulgarism in Arm. puç: Hes. búttos appears to be from the same source. IE $^{+}$b- is unusual as an initial.

cirikokë, pl. -a 'jackdaw' (or 'warbler'?): Skt. čirikākaḥ 'crow'; cf. Czech čirikavka 'partridge'. An onomatopoeic word, cf. Cz. čvirikat,'vb. 'twitter', Lith. kirkauti 'to shriek'. IE +qṷiriqṷāqṷā.

danë,pl. -a, T darë 'forceps, tongs'; cf.Skt. dañśaḥ 'bite, sting'; dañśanam 'bite'; Gk. dákos 'bite'; dãgma,id. beside daknís ('a bird with a sharp beak'); OHG zanga 'tongs, forceps': OE tang,-e,id. The Albanian form represents a type +dak̂nā. The absence of nasality in Geg, and the presence of -a- in the root syllable in Tosk, indicate a short mora,giving a plural in -a. An a-stem is assured by the Tosk form, which ends in -rë (contrast Tosk anë 'side' from +antis, and see below: i-stems).

darkë,pl. -a, T also -ëra 'supper, dinner': Gk. dórpon 'supper'; dorpḗ 'evening'; cf. Myc. do(r)qeja (queried) 'waitress'. The parallel form in drekë, pl. -a and -ë 'lunch' seems to represent a type +dr̥̄qṷā (with long zero-grade as in the loanwords treg, kreshnik,etc. and perhaps predhë 'bullet, shell') as against +dorqṷā for darkë. Of unknown connexions beyond Greek and Albanian. Buzuk's form dërkuj 'I sup' is a denominative.A form darsëm 'wedding, wedding-feast' seems to represent a type +dorqṷimā.

degë, pl. -a and -ë 'branch' : MHG zwīc, g.s. zwīges,id. : Du. twijg, f. 'twig, osier'(short vowel in OE twig 'twig'): Lith. dveigē 'pair' beside dveigys 'two-year-old'. Radical +dṷi- 'divided, in two'. Albanian type +dṷeighā.

farë, pl. -a and -na, T-ëra 'seed' ; cf. Arm. p̒arat 'scattered': Gk.sporás, -rádos,id. Radical in Gk. spóros 'sowing, seed-time,seed';sporà,id. and probably in OCS sporŭ 'abundant'. IE +sphor-,+spor- beside +spher- , +sper-, as in Gk. spérados 'seed': Bret. sper,id.

flegë,pl.-a,-ë 'chip ; flap, wing' : Arm. p̒eyk,i,iv 'slat, shutter': Ir. spealg, speilg 'splinter, jag, crag': OE spelc 'splint': ON spelka'chip'. Cf. Sw. ben-spjalk 'splint'. IE +spelg- (but the Albanian form presupposes either metathesis, which is unusual, or a long-zero grade form: +spl̥̄gā).

frymë, pl. -a,-ë 'breath, spirit, soul'. A noun-extension in +-mā of the verb fryej 'blow'; cf. Gk. a-spaírō 'pant, gasp' beside speírō,aor.pass. espárēn 'sow'; sparnós 'scattered, rare'. Albanian type +spr̥mā.

grabë,pl. -a 'hollow, water-hole'. Of ambiguous origin, IE +ghrabh- or +ghrobh-. The second form is explicit only in Slav, where e-grade oc-

-curs in the verb, cf. OCS grebǫ, gresti 'scrape': OCz. hřebu, hřésti,v. 'bury' and an isolated form in Latv. grebe 'vault'. Zero-grade is represented in Cz. po-hřeb, g.s. po-hřbu 'burial'. Other forms point to $^{+}$ghrabh- alternating with $^{+}$ghrābh-, cf. Phrygian (or Thracian) grabá-,f. 'ditch, pit, bowl, cup' (Hes.) beside grábatos 'couch' : MHG grap, g.s. grabes,n. 'grave' : OE græf 'cave, trench, grave': ON grǫf, pl. grafar, grafir,f. 'pit, grave' : Lith. (LW?) grabas 'coffin'; grabē 'ditch' beside IE^{+}-ā- in Goth. grōba, OHG gruoba 'hollow, cave, ditch': Du. groef, groeve,id. : ON gróf,id. and'pit' : Eng. groove, as well as ON grœfr , adj. 'for burial'. The confusion may have arisen between two types, one meaning 'to seize', the other 'to scrape, dig'.

grimë, pl. -a,-ë 'speck, crumb' ; cf. Hes. grūméa 'trash' : Ir. grúm, m. 'icefloe' : LG krūme 'crumb': Du. kruim,id. IE $^{+}$grūm-. Short vowel in MHG krume : OE cruma,w.m.'crumb'.

gropë, pl. -a 'hole, pothole' : Rumanian (substrate) groapă,id. :Slovene grápa 'ravine' : Blg. grapa 'rough place; pockmark; harrow'. Common only to the Balkan languages, hence possibly a loanword from Germanic, cf. OE grōp 'ditch'; Icel. grópa 'to groove'. Latvian grāpis'cauldron' appears to be isolated.

gungë,pl.-a 'lump, dome, arch, knot, hard shell'; as adj. gung'hard, impotent'. In the plural gunga also = 'scrofula'. Apparently inherited IE, in spite of It. gonga'swelling of gland', which may have influenced the plural meaning. Cf. Skt. gungūḥ 'full moon': Eng. conk 'nose' beside OE (vowel-fronted) cynca 'tuft' and, with ambiguous vocalism, OCS gǫž-vitsa 'osier': Russ. gužĭ 'rope': Cz. houž, houže 'twisted root or branch':Li. gùnga 'lump, boss'. The adjectival meaning is reflected in Hindi gungā 'dumb': Per. gung,id. IE $^{+}$gung-.

kapë, pl.-a 'shock, sheaf, bundle, pile': Av. kaofō 'hump; mountain': OP kaufa- 'mountain': Eng. dial. heaves, want-heaves 'mole-hills': OCS kupŭ 'pile' : Srb. kȕp ,id. : Li. kaũpas 'pile, mound, lump, clod'; LW in Fin. kupo 'sheaf'. IE^{+}koupos,ā.

kollë,f. and koll,m. 'cough': OCS kašĭlĭ id. : Li. kosalaĩ 'phlegm' beside kosulys 'cough' : Latv. kāsulis 'cough'. IE $^{+}$qu̯āsəl- ($^{+}$qu̯āsil-) . The initial is assured from W pas 'cough' (from $^{+}$qu̯asto-) and OE hwōsan: Skt. kāse,mp. 'cough': Li. kósiu, ēti,id. : Latv. kāsēju,ēt,id. Hittite kwasmi is said to mean 'kiss' (but is isophonic with OLith.kosmi 'cough')

krrabë, pl. -a 'hook, crook, staff, knitting-needle, claw, tick' : Gk. kna̋phos 'carding-comb, teasel'(also in Myc. knapeu- 'fuller'): W cnaif 'sheep-shearing, fleece': (perhaps) Sw. näv 'long beak': Lith. knabis,io 'dibble' beside knablys,io 'beak'. Long-grade in Gk. kne̋phē 'itch, nettle', and Latv. knābis 'beak'. IE $^{+}$knabh-, knābh-.

krrigë, pl.-a 'needle, awl, hook, crook';cf. ON hnúka 'bend' beside hnúkur 'peak' (in the modern language). Short-grade in Icel. hnokki'hook of distaff' : EMSw. nock, nocke 'tip of sailyard, crochet-hook': Du. nok,f. gable, tip, spike': Ir. cnuga 'hammer-head, thole-pin'. IE^{+}knūg-,knug-.

krromë 'scab, crust, mange; sweet briar' ; cf. Gk. knē̃ma, knē̃sma 'itch'. Related to krruej, T kruaj 'scratch' : Gk. kna̋ō, fut. knēsō. IE^{+}knāmā.Of the same onomatopoeic order as krodhë (T) 'scab, eczema, crust';cf.Greek knēthō 'scratch'; mp. 'itch'.

lândë, T lëndë, pl. id. 'tree, timber, material'. A long-mora root from a type $^{+}$elṇ̥tā with aphesis: Gk. elátē 'fir, pine': Hitt. alanc 'kind of wood': Br. lann 'juniper': OIcel. lundr 'copse, tree' beside lind 'lime-tree' (and common Germanic): Pol. łęt 'stick' (alleged łęty, Srb. letva 'lath' may have been influenced by Ger.'Latte'and its kind) : Lith.lentà 'board': (perhaps) Latv. lieta 'matter, thing, subject' (= Alb. lândë in this sense).

llânë,pl.id., T llërë, pl. llëra 'ell; forearm'. A form of uncertain IE background, though widespread in documentation. Cf. Per. arinǧ, Ossetic ärm-ärīn, Digorian cäng-ärīnä : Gk. ōlénē (beside ōllós,m.): Lat. ulna; Faliscan olna ; OIr. uilen, uilind; mod. uille, gs. uilleann: W elin ; Br. élin, ilin ; OBr. elin ; Cor. elyn, pl. elynnow; Go. aleina:OHG elina ; ON alin, ǫln ; OFris. elne ; OE eln ; Sw. aln. The nature of the IE internal vowel is uncertain, but the Albanian form is aphetic, hence the vowel â, Tosk ë, indicating a long mora by compensation. IE type $^{+}$olī̌nā, $^{+}$olĕnā, $^{+}$olənā. The vocalism of the Albanian form is paralleled in the Latin loanword rânë, T rërë 'sand',aphetic, from Latin arēna.

lidhë, pl.-a 'tie, bond, thong' : Latin $^{+}$liga implied in the denominative verb ligāre 'tie': It. lega 'league'; legare 'tie': Rumansch lia, ligia 'league' : Ir. liog 'limb, nerve' (lit."joint"): ON lík'bolt-rope'. An o-grade form occurs in MHG ge-leich, ge-leiche 'joint,limb'. IE^{+}ligā.

lugë, pl.id. 'spoon', beside lug,m.pl. lugje 'channel, groove, hollow' , luginë,pl.-a 'valley' (disyllabic feminines form their plural in -a). A widely documented type, cf. (allegedly) Illyrian Loúgeon (name of marsh); cf. also Gaulish Lug-dunum (place-name): Ir. log,m. 'hollow, pool,ditch': OHG lohh,n. 'hole'; lucka,f. 'gap': Sw. lucka 'trapdoor': OCS lŭža'channel, canal' beside the dim. lŭžica 'spoon' and R lòžka,id. Long vowel in ON lúka 'hollow of hand' : Lith. lũgas, liũgas 'marsh; puddle, mire'.The extended type is represented in Ir. luigín 'hollow' : Lith. liũgynas, m. 'low marshy ground', and perhaps W llwyn 'grove'. IE $^+$lug-,$^+$lūg-,$^+$-īn-.
lutë, pl. -a 'prayer'; lusë,f. 'worship'(T), from IE $^+$leutā and $^+$ leuti̭ə respectively. The verb is lus, aor. luta 'pray', mp. lútet 'is celebrated, is worshipped'. The zero-grade occurs in Homeric lússa 'frenzy',fr. $^+$luti̭ə, otherwise IE $^+$leut- in Skt. loṭāmi 'rave' ($^+$leuti̭o-) :Go. liuþōn 'sing,praise': ON ljóða 'sing, compose' beside MHG liet 'song': OE lēoð, id.: ON ljóð 'verse': OCS ljuštǫ sę, ljutiti sę 'rave, rage'(and common Slavonic). Apparently related are the adjectives in Ir. luath 'mad': OCS ljutŭ 'bitter, wild, hardh, terrible': OCz. lútý 'violent'; lút,f. 'violence'. IE$^+$leut-'frenzy'.
makë 'scum, slurry, gluten': OCS močĭ 'urine'; moča 'marsh';cf. Lith.makoti 'plod through mud', maknotas 'miry' (Lalis). Cf. also makër 'mucus, uterine fluid': OCS mokrŭ 'wet', possibly in long-grade: Lat.mācerō,-āre 'soak, steep', and cf. Arm. makard 'rennet, curd'. IE $^+$mak-, $^+$mǎkr-.The long-grade also occurs in R makàt': Slovene mákati 'dip' and in Latvian mākonis, mākulis 'cloud'. A variant occurs in Oss. mäćal 'wet': R moklyj (beside mokryj),id. : Lith. makalaĩ 'swirl'.
mardhë 'chill' : OCS mrazŭ (and Common Slav) 'frost'. Zero-grade in Gk. margónō 'shiver', and in OCS mrŭža 'ice'. IE $^+$morĝ-, $^+$mr̥ĝ-. The Albanian verb assumes the following forms: mërdhif and mërdhih 'feel intense cold' (from a type $^+$morĝīsk̂ō), beside the intensive mërdhás,id. (fr. morĝăi̭ō), the aorist being in all cases mardha.
mjégull 'cloud' (final -ë is notional in words of this type, pl.-a). The word equates with Skt. mihiraḥ (2) 'cloud' : Gk. omíkhlē 'mist, cloud' , perh. for $^+$ṷos-mighlā, a synthetic cpd.: Fris. miggelje 'drizzle': OCS mĭgla 'fog, mist' (and common Slavonic): Li. miglà,id. : Latv. migla,id. IE $^+$mighəlā, $^+$mighlā. The conversion of IE $^+$i to Albanian -je-, or -e-

with prepalatalization takes place before -ull as in qérthull 'hoop' : Lat. circulum.

mollë, pl. id. 'apple'. Possibly a 'Doricism', cf. Gk. mêlon, Dor.mâlon, Lat. mālum,id.

njollë,pl.-a 'scar, mark' contains the element of the verb njof, njoh 'I know', cf. Gk. gignōskō: Lat. noscō. The prototype is +ĝnādhlā or +ĝnālā, cf. Czech znalý 'knowing, known'. For a possible +ĝnādhlā, cf. the Albanian noun gjoll 'seed-patch', from +sē-dhlom, Lith. sékla 'seed, seed-patch'.

pshtymë 'spittle'. A verbal-noun, with extension -më as in frymë (p.61), from pshtyj 'I spit': Gk. ptúō,id. Cf. Lat. spū-ma from spuō.

shitë,pl.-a 'wound, blow, paralysis, footrot': Skt. kşiptám 'wound':Arm. xiť, xtí,-iv 'gripes'; cf. Per. šīftan 'be madly in love'(cf. Eng. sense of 'smitten'); cf. implied Slavonic+šĭtŭkŭ in Czech u-štk-nouti 'sting'. IE +ksipt-.

shtonë, pl. id. and -a 'waterhole, catchment, drain' : Skt. sthānam, n. 'stand, station': Av. stānō 'place, stable': OPer. stānam 'place':Per.in cpds. -stān '-place': Oss. äston, ston 'stall, cowshed': cf. Tokh.ṣtāṅk, stāṅk 'palace'; cf. Gk. dú-stēnos , Dor. -ā- 'in a bad state': Ir. stán 'barrel': Du. (umlaut) steun 'support': OCS stanŭ 'stand, camp':Ukr.stan 'state, condition': Li. stonas 'caste, kind': stonē 'stable'. IE +sthān-os,-ā,etc.

shtymë 'jolt, push, shove', verbal noun derived from shtyej 'push',etc., cf. frymë, pshtymë,etc. IE type +steu- or +steud-. For the first, cf. OCz. ščuju, ščváti 'incite': Homeric steũmai 'am about to, intend'. For the second, cf. e-grade MHG stiesȝen 'push'; o-grade Go. stautan, OIcel. steyta 'hurl, dash, pound': G stossen 'push',etc. ; zero-grade in Ger. stutzen 'stop short': Lat. studeō 'apply oneself, get, care for, favour, IE +steud-, +stoud-,+stud-. Albanian type+steui̭ō or +steudi̭ō.

tãngë 'resentment' : Tokh. A tunk, B tankw 'love'; cf. OLat. tongeō'know' beside (unexplained vowel in) Osc. tanginom,acc. 'opinion'; MIr. tungu 'I swear': W twng, plight, fate, oath', denom. tyngaf 'I swear': Go.þagks,m. 'thanks': OHG thanc,id.: OE þanc 'thought, sentiment, will,mercy; thanks, pleasure, reward' : OIcel. þǫkk 'pleasure, thanks', þekkr 'pleasant,good, brave'; ambiguously to OCS (and common Slav) tǫga 'anguish'. Speculation under tongeō in WH and EM. The existence of Tosk tëngë 'grievance' confirms the Albanian origin of this word. IE +tong- 'sentiment'.

thekën, T thekër, pl. thekna, thekra 'rye', from a type +k̂akinā.The radical +k̂ak- occurs in Skt. śaktiḥ 'spear': Gk. káktos 'thistle, cactus' : Gallo-Latin cattus 'tomcat': Lith. šakà 'branch' beside šakē 'fork' and šaknis 'root' : Latv. sakne,id. Also in Albanian thakë,(pl. of thek) in sense of 'awns, bristles'.

thikë, pl. -a and (T) -ra 'knife': Skt. śūkaḥ,-am 'awn, sting':Av. sūka 'needle' : Oss. sug 'knife-edge , branch' ; short vowel in Lith.šukos,f. pl. 'comb'; šukē 'potsherd, splinter' : Latv. suka 'horsecomb';suķes,pl. 'potsherds'. IE +k̂ūk-, +k̂uk-.

thithë, pl.-a 'teat, nipple': MIr. cích, Ir. cíoch,id. : Srb. sisa,id.Cf. (with short vowel) Skt. śiśuḥ 'infant'. Rumanian substrate ţîţă'teat' is reflected in the Albanian doublet cicë,id. IE +k̂īk̂ā.

thjerë, thjerrë,pl.id. 'lentil', beside thirqe 'chickpea': Arm. siser̄n 'chickpea': Lat. cicer,n. and cicera,f. id. The Albanian doublet qiqër 'chickpea' is a Latin loanword. The form thirqe seems to represent an IE diminutive +k̂ik̂eriki̯ə, but the loss of the second +-k̂- is unaccountable.

valë, pl. id. 'wave': Oss. wlän,id. : OCS vlŭna,id.:Lith. Latv.vilnis,id. The vowel -a- of valë is due to an intrusive +-ə- after the loss of a consonant, cf. i parë 'first',fr. +pr̥̆u̯os : Skt. pūrvaḥ : OCS prŭvŭ,id.w. loss of +-u̯-; lag 'wet', fr.+u̯l̥gu̯-, cf. Lat. ulva 'rushes': Norw. ulka 'slime' : Cz. vlh-ký 'wet, damp': OCS vlŭgŭkŭ,id. ;cf. Li. vilgti 'get damp'. Albanian type +u̯l̥nā (but +u̯l̥nis is also possible). The denominative verbs vëloj, vloj 'I heat', përvëloj 'I scorch' display the reduced vowel common to early Albanian derivatives.

e ve 'widow', pl. të ve, të va. The preceding e and të represent a pronoun or article, cf. Gk. hē, tai. Skt.vidhávā: Per. bīva : Lat. vidua : OIr. fedb: W gweddw : Cor. gwedhow : OS widuwa : Go. widuwo and common Germanic: OCS vĭdova. IE+u̯idheu̯ā.

vênë, T verë 'wine'. A possible "Doricism", cf. Albanian mollë 'apple' in relation to Gk. mēlon and Lat. mālum. Further connexions include Skt. veṇiḥ 'braid of hair'; Hitite wiyanas 'of wine'; Hiero-Hittite wianas 'vine, wine'; cf. the name Wiyanauwanta = Oinoanda in Gk.; Myc. wo(i)na-

'vine'; wo(i)no- 'wine': Gk. oínē, oīnos,id; cf. agk-oínē 'crook of arm' and oin-ás 'pigeon' (lit. "turning-bird"); Lat. vīnum 'wine' beside vīnea 'vine'; cf. also ar-vīna 'peritoneal fat of the ram (aries)'. Various compounds in OCS věnikŭ 'switch,rod'; věnec, věnok 'wreath': OCS věnǐcǐ 'wreath'; Lith. vainikas 'wreath' ; Latv. vainaks, vainags,id. The IE root is +ṷei-,+ṷoi-,+ṷi- 'twist'.

A small number of nouns of a-stem are of masculine gender. In this they are paralleled by similar forms in Greek, Latin, Slavonic,etc. cf. Greek tétta; Lat. incola, advena, tāta; Czech táta, neposeda,etc. Albanian examples are: tatë, def. -a 'daddy'; Gogë,-a,pl.id.'Albano-Rumanian,Vlach': Rum. gog 'fool', beside Gegë,-a,pl.id.'Northern Albanian':Lith. guogas Mariampol Lithuanian, yokel'; guogē 'knob, head': Sw. koka 'clod',etc. A number of these forms are pejorative, or terms of endearment.

A few nouns of a-stem are accompanied by the preceding feminine particle e — (pl. të —), cf. e dhânë, T e dhënë 'datum', pl. të dhâna, të dhëna 'data', e metë 'defect', pl. të meta, e mirë 'merit', pl. të mira, e ve 'widow', pl. të ve, të va.

IV.I̭A-stems

The feminine nouns that derive from a stem in -i̭a- are partly of IE origin, partly loanwords. The latter derive mainly from Latin. Those having a short mora base in the sing. form the plural in -a, and the preceding consonant is modified by palatalism; those deemed to have had a long mora in the base form the plural in -ë (= zero), and the preceding consonant is likewise palatalized. But some nouns of this class display the vowel -e in both singular and plural, with or without modification of the preceding consonant by palatalism. The origin of these last is disputed. The singular ending -e has been held by some to be a former plural ending that has been singularized, cf. nuse 'bride' from a Lat. form nuptiae 'wedding', since the form found in Late Latin nuptia 'wedlock',a singularized form of nuptiae, would produce Albanian +nusë, whereas the form (nova) nupta 'bride' would produce Albanian +nutë. This is clear from the Albanian loanwords mbesë 'niece',from+nepōtia, pus 'well' from puteus, and from luftë 'war', from lucta, cf. Rum. luptă,id. Verbal noun types ending in -je are of Tosk (Southern Albanian) origin, and appear to represent an earlier form, found in dialect, with an ending -ëlë.

For the feminine nouns in -e, some support to the theory of a singularized plural of masculine type is afforded by the form rreze in the sense of 'ray, beam'. The Latin prototype radius would produce a word of masculine type $^{+}$rrez in the first instance, cf. gaz 'joy' from Lat.gaudium. Since the typical masculine plural ends in -e when the final consonant of the singular is palatal or iotacized (mal 'mountain, pl.male),and the plural so formed is regarded as feminine (male të nalta), this plural is a plausible background for a new singularized feminine, hence the form rreze, def. rrezja, pl. rreze, def. rrezet. Many feminines are of this type, cf. lule 'flower', of uncertain connexions, but cf. Greek leirion 'lily' (perhaps from $^{+}$leu̯iriom with a marginal form $^{+}$leilion to account for the Latin loanword (?) līlium, which, in its turn, has produced the French lis 'lily', from the plural form līliās). Parallel forms with the vowel -ou- occur in Gk. louládkion 'indigo-plant', and in Modern Greek louloũdi 'flower'. If, as WH think, it derives from a "Mediterranean"or other non-Indo-European source,cf. Basque lili 'flower'. The vowel of Albanian lule is represented in the "Doricism" luâ, gen.sg. luâni 'lion' in relation to Mycenaean lewo(n), Gk. léōn. The existence of such plurals as yje 'stars'(yll 'star') indicates an iotacized collective as found in OCS lovlja 'hunting' in relation to lovŭ 'hunt', gospožda'lady' in relation to gospodĭ 'lord' rather than lǫčije 'marsh' in relation to lǫka,id., or Greek oikía 'household' in relation to oíkos, since the latter forms have an analogue in Albanian anë, enë 'vessel, pot': anije'vessel, ship', cf. Lith. avìs 'sheep': avijà 'flock of sheep'.

a.I̯A-stems with absorbed iotacism

besë,pl.id. 'pledge, trust' : Hom. Gk. (hapax) peĩsa 'peace' or 'confidence'("his heart remained in —"); cf. Daco-Moesian -beista in the name Bura-beista, partly glossed in the Greek name Aria-peithēs; cf. Lat.fīdūcia 'courage, trust, confidence' beside fidēs 'trust, faith', fidus,adj. 'faithful, safe'; cf. Gaul. bessu (queried)'custom' : OIr. béss,id.: Br. boaz, pl. boasiu,id. and 'accustomed'. Albanian type $^{+}$bheidhti̯a (or (?) $^{+}$bheidhtis, in view of pesë 'five', fr.$^{+}$penqu̯tis.

bijë, e bijë, pl. bija, të bija (dialectal bil'ë) 'daughter'. This word, whatever its origin, is inseparable from Lat. fīlia, possibly from a prototype $^{+}$bhu̯īli̯ə. Speculations in WH and EM: fīlius,fīlia.

dojë (no pl.) 'desire' (N): Hes. deía 'want, lack'. The verbal form is represented in *due* (T *dua*) 'I wish', shortened to *do* as a potential formant : Gk. déō (Lesbian déwō), Hom. deúō, deúomai 'want, need, lack';fut. deésō. IE +dēṷi̭ə. For the diphthongal background of Albanian *o/ue*,see *grue*, T *grua* 'woman', below (diphthongal stems).

drizë, pl.-*a* 'briar': Gk. thríssa 'a fine-boned fish', cf. also hús-trix, -trikhos ("pig" + "bristle") 'porcupine' beside thrix, g.s. trikhós'hair'. A Celtic form in OIr. driss, Ir. dreas 'briar, bramble', OBr. drissi,pl. 'briars' seems to represent a variant (+dhriĝhsi̭ə) . Alb. and Gk. type +dhriĝhi̭ə. (For +ĝhi̭ə, +ghi̭ə in Greek, cf. brássōn, thāssōn).

dosë,pl. -*a* 'sow, pig' : Skt. dhā́tuḥ 'for sucking' : Lat. fētus 'young of human or animal': OCS děti 'children'. Alb. type +dhēti̭ə.

dru, def. *druja*, pl. *dru* 'wood, firewood', beside *drû*, *dru*, gen.sg.*drûni*, *druri* 'wood, tree'(m.) : Gk. dría,n.pl. copse, thicket' beside magūdaris, -dareōs "gum-tree": W dryw 'druid' : OIcel. tyrvi 'firtree': OCS drŭvije 'timber'. Albanian type +dr̥ṷi̭ə.

guzë, pl.-*a* 'coot or similar waterfowl': Gk. gúgēs 'waterfowl'; cf. Oss. goguz 'turkey' : OE cocc 'cockerel'; cycen : Ger. Kücken: Du. kuiken, n. 'chicken' : Lith. gužas 'stork'. Albanian type +guĝi̭ə.

gjizë 'cottage cheese';vb. *n-gjiz* 'clot, curdle': Arm. kcu 'sour, tart : Lith. gyžùs 'sour' (of milk) ; vb. gyžtu, gižti 'turn sour'. Albanian type +giĝi̭ə.

lusë 'worship', beside *lutë*,pl.-*a* 'prayer'. The first form is a generalized form of the second (cf. OCS duša :duxŭ 'soul': 'spirit'; Latvian: maša 'matting, haircloth': mats 'hair'; Goth. tainjō 'basketry': tains 'branch'; Lith. vadžios,f.pl. 'reins': vadas 'leader' ; Arm. uři,-vo,eav 'willow': uř 'branch, withy, tendril'; Gk. króssai 'battlements': Czech krokev (OCS +kroky, gs. krokŭve) 'beam',etc.)The Albanian verb is *lus*,ao. *luta* 'pray, beg';mp. *lútet* 'is celebrated'. IE +leuti̭ə beside +leutā, and for the verb +leuti̭ō (though the vowel is ambiguously +-eu- or -u-).Cf. Gk. lússa 'frenzy' : Go. liuþōn 'to sing, praise': OIcel. ljóða 'sing' , and perhaps Skt. loṭāmi 'rave': OCS ljuštǫ sę, ljutiti sę,id.

majë 'tip, top, summit', beside *mal*,m. (i-stem) 'mountain'. The conservative Greek-Albanian dialects preserve the earlier form *maľë* 'top, summit',etc. IE +moli̭ə beside +molis. Cf. Skt. marúḥ (2) 'mountain, rock'.

masë, pl. -a and masë 'measure'. The verbal form is mas, aor. mata 'measure'; mp. mátem 'emulate' ("measure myself"). For the noun, cf. Gk. á-motos 'excessive' (as Alb. i pa-masë, id.); ẽ-mos, Dor. ã-mos 'when,as' ; tẽ-mos 'then'; en tẽ-mos 'thereupon' (and for the sense, cf. Lith. e-grade tuo-mèt 'then'): Li. matis, gs. mačio 'measurer, meter' beside mãtas 'measure': Latv. mašs 'corn-measure, milling-fee' beside mats, id. A dialectal form matë 'measure' is also recorded, representing the simplex. IE $^{+}$mot-, Alb. $^{+}$moti̯ə, and the verb: $^{+}$moti̯ō.

mizë, pl. -a 'fly': OSax. muggja : MHG mügge, mücke : OE mycg : Sw. mygg, mygga, id. : Latv. mūdzis, id. Cf. perhaps Lat. mūliō 'gnat' (sense 2), fr. $^{+}$muh-li̯o-(?). Albanian type $^{+}$mūghi̯ə.

palcë, pl.-a (also palsë in sense (1)) 'marrow, pith, core; mush, pap'. The simplex occurs in Gk. póltos 'mush, pudding, porridge'; It. polta 'pap , batter'; cf. Lat. puls, gs. pultis 'pudding' ; Skt. parpaṭaḥ 'mash of rice or peas done in grease' (fr. $^{+}$polpoltos): Latv. palts 'puddle' beside paltas, f.pl. 'blood pancake'; Finn. LW palttu, id. Alb. type $^{+}$polti̯ə.

pasë (Early modern Albanian Buzuk 1555) 'wealth', from a prototype $^{+}$poti̯ə. For the simplex, cf. Skt. pátiḥ 'owner, master, husband' : Av. paitis, id. Tokh. A pats, B pets 'husband' : Gk. pósis, id. : Lat. potis 'able, powerful': W od, adj. 'noble': Goth. -faþs, in cpds. commander': Lith. and Latv. pats 'husband'; cf. OCS potĭ-běga 'wife who deserts her husband'. IE $^{+}$potis. Derived forms include Albanian i pásun, T i pásur 'rich'; pasë, pátur, pp. 'had', cf. Arm. unim 'I possess' (fr. $^{+}$potni̯ō); OPer. pati-padam 'on its own base' : Lith. savo paties 'one's own'; Latvian pat-īgs 'selfish', etc. The Albanian aorist pata, patshë 'I had' is suppletive to the verb kam 'I have'.

plasë, pl. -a and plasë 'burst, bang, crack, chink'. The verbal form is plas , aor. plasa beside the intensive form pëlcás, aor. pëlcita. IE $^{+}$plakti̯ə; $^{+}$plakti̯ō beside $^{+}$plakti̯āi̯ō. The noun is isophonic with Swedish dialect flättja 'frivolity', beside the (allegedly LG) loanword in fläkt 'breeze' and a possible cognate in Mod.Icel. fletta 'to strip'. Cf. the Lith. isogloss plaktẽ 'thrashing' (= plasë), beside plaktas 'hammer'. For loss of IE $^{+}$k before $^{+}$t in Albanian cf. dritë 'light' (below), and natë 'night' (below). Parallel forms occur in Lith. plakšiù, ēti 'snap , crack': Latv. plakšu 'slap', etc.

rasë, pl. -a 'case', related to the anomalous suppletive rashë'I struck, fell'(present tense: bie), from a type ⁺routi̯ə. Cf. the obsolete pp.ratë now used as an adverb rri ratë 'lie down', âsht ratë 'is lying down',lit. 'is horizontal', from a type ⁺routo-.(For the vowel,cf. dash 'ram', i dáshun, i dáshur 'beloved', fr. ⁺dhousi̯o- : OCS duxŭ 'spirit';duša'soul'). Cf. OCS ruštǫ sę, rutiti sę 'shake, tremble'; vŭ-ruštǫ sę 'thrust oneself; plunge, tumble': Blg. rutja 'dash, fling'; rutja se 'collapse'.The radical is seen in Lat. ruō, ruere 'hurl, fall', pp. as adj. rŭtus'fallen, hurled down': Lith. ráuju, ráuti 'snatch; rush', pp. ráutas.

rosë, pl. -a 'duck' : Srb. raca,id. A word without further known connections. (For the vowel, cf. Gk. nẽssa, nẽtta, Boeot. nãssa, from⁺nāti̯ə) . The Albanian and Serbian type is ⁺rāti̯ə.

rrânxë, rrânzë,pl.-a; T rrënjë, pl.id. 'root'. The first form apparently derives from a prototype ⁺u̯r̥mdi̯ə, cf. Arm. armat 'root', but the variants are many. Cf. (from ⁺u̯r̥d-,⁺u̯r̥dm-) Gk. rhádamnos 'root': MIr. frem, Ir. fréamh,id. : W gwraidd 'roots'(fr. ⁺u̯rədi̯ə) : Corn. gwrȳdh,id.: Go. waúrts : MHG wurz, würze : OE wyrt ('taproot, herb'),etc.

shoshë,pl.-a 'sieve'. The verbal form is shosh, aor. shosha 'sift',which appears to be a reduplicated root of type ⁺si̯ā-si̯ā-. For the simplex,cf. Skt. syam 'winnowing-basket'; Gk. sáō, fut. ⁺sēsō, and the verbal nouns sẽsis, Dor. sãsis 'sifting': Srb. pro-sijem, -sijati : R sějať(2)'sift': Cz. pro-, pře-seju, -síti, Morav. -saju, -sát,id. : Lith. sijóju : Latv. sijāju,id. A compound form occurs in Gk. dia-ttáō,id. and a participle: essēménos, ettēménos. Cf. also Arm. šętik 'sieve'.

veshë, pl. -a 'garment'. The verbal form is vesh 'put on (clothes)',mp. véshem and víshem 'I get dressed', from IE⁺u̯esi̯ō, cf. Gk. hénnūmi,etc. A prototype for the noun is uncertain (⁺u̯esi̯ə or ⁺u̯osi̯ə), since a following yot inhibits the normal conversion of IE ⁺e to Albanian -je-. Cf. Skt. vasi 'clothes' : Tokh.B wassi, wässi 'material, textile' beside wastsi , wästsi 'garment' : Hitt. wēs- (wis-, was-) -e-, -iyami 'put on (clothes) and Myc. (queried) upo-we(s)- 'garment'; Gk. wẽma, heĩma,id.(= Skt. vasman,id.); cf. Go. wasjan, OE werian : OIcel. verja 'put on (clothes)'beside OIcel. verja 'coat'.

zonjë, pl. -a 'lady', fem. form of zot 'lord'. For the suffix, cf. Skt. pátnī 'lady' : Arm. hani 'grandma': Myc. & Gk. pótnia 'lady': Lith.viešpatni 'goddess'. The radical *zot* 'lord' contains the zero-grade radical of type ⁺di̯ēu̯s, with iotacism extended to the reduced forms, *qua*⁺di̯u̯āt-, cf. Skt. divyatā 'divinity' beside dyotam, dyutiḥ 'brightness',etc. Cf. also OBrit. duiutit 'divinity' : W duwdid, duwdod,id. : Hiero-Hittite Tuwatas (a king's name) ; Tokh. A śāt, B śāte 'rich': Lat. dīves, dīvitis, id.; Vedic dyutat,etc.

Occasional iotacism, of non-historical origin, occurs,cf. *gojë* 'mouth', Gk. and It. Alb. gol'ë,id. from Lat. gula, late gola, and cf. *kuaj* (G & T) 'horses', from Lat. caballī (the normal reflex of Latin -ll- is Alb.-l-, as in *pulë* 'fowl' (pullus), *gjel* 'cockerel' (gallus),etc.). Otherwise Albanian -j- is the normal reflex of -lj- of whatever origin, cf. *murtajë* 'plague' (<mortālia), *nevojë* 'need' (<Slav. nevolja).

b. I̯A-stems with final -e

The group of feminine nouns represented under this heading includes inherited terms as well as loanwords. Çabej believes the former to be derived from (masculine) plural forms in -*e*, singularized, and iotacized by the addition of the definite article. It represents the inflection of the i-stem,cf. *tre*,m. 'three' (from ⁺trei̯es, cf. Skt. trayaḥ : Greek treĩs: Lat. trēs : Goth. þreis,etc.) and *vende* 'places' (from ⁺u̯esn̥tei̯es, cf. Skt. vasatayaḥ, agnayaḥ,etc. and Gk. póleis, mánteis, Lat. hostēs , ovēs, Goth. ansteis, Lith. trỹs, ãkys, OCS trĭje, gostĭje,etc.,some of which languages do not distinguish, as does Albanian, i-stem masculine plurals from femininc plurals). Thus Albanian *mênd*,m. 'mind' (: Sanskr. matíḥ : Lat. mens, mentis : Lith. mintìs,etc.) has a derived feminine equivalent *mende* (also *mendje*) 'mind, mentality', def. *mendja*.

A large number of adjectival derivatives belong in this class of noun. Such are *dritare*, *dritore* 'window' (*dritë* 'light'), *qumështore* 'plant with milky sap' (*qumësht* 'milk'). In the case of loanwords, Albanian -*e* often reflects a similar vowel in the prototype, cf. *meze*, def. *mezja* 'snack', from Turkish meze,id.; *rreze* (in the sense of 'hinge', from Tk. reze; in the sense of'ray, beam' from Latin radius); *radhiqe* 'chicory'fr. Gk. rhadíkion,id. , *filladhe* 'pamphlet, booklet' (fr. Gk. phulládion)etc. A folk-etymology lies embedded in *fitore* 'victory' beside *vitore*, from Lat. victoria. The form *kasolle* 'hut', def. *kasollja* appears to be a hybrid of (Italo-Latin) casale and casóla. An alternative form is *kësollë*.

The unreduced vowel of the first syllable seems to have been influenced by *kasë* 'hut' (Buzuk) and *kasë* (2) 'strongbox' (fr. It. cassa).The diphthongal plural in Lat. nuptiae (Fr. noces) 'wedding' is reflected in the word *nuse* 'bride'. Native terms that appear to have been one-time plurals are *lule* 'flower' (of uncertain origin), and *dele* 'sheep'. For the latter, though of doubtful relationship, cf.Lat. fēlēs 'cat', a plural-type of noun with a singular meaning.

anije 'ship, vessel', a collectivized form of *anë*, usu. *enë*, pl.id.'vessel, container, pot', of uncertain origin.

dele 'sheep' (suppletive plural of heteroclitic origin *dhenë*). Apparently contains a root $^+$dhe- 'suckle, suck', cf. WH: fēlō for speculations.

dije 'knowledge' : Skt. dhīḥ, pl. dhiyaḥ 'reason, understanding.IE$^+$dhī-.

doke 'custom, habit, tradition; duty, task' (radical: dhē- 'set,place'): Skt. dhākaḥ 'receptacle' : Gk. thḗkē 'case, chest, container': LLat.(fr. ?Illyrian) doga 'container for liquid' : Latv. dēka 'adventure, mishap'; cf. Lith. dēklas 'container, case'. IE $^+$dhēk-.

droe 'fear', from a type $^+$dhrāu̯-, the verbal form occurring in *drue*, T. *druaj*, *droj* 'I fear'(vowel as in *grue*, *grua* 'woman' : Gk. graũs,grēũs) . Cf. Lith. drovùs 'shy, timid'; drovà 'shyness', droviúos, -ētis 'be shy'.

druje 'timber', collective form of *drû* *dru*, def. *drûni*, *druri* 'tree,wood' Gk. drũs,etc.

ende (obs.)'flower'. The fronted vowel points to a type $^+$andhis resulting in the masculine form *end* 'bloom' (G & T), from the plural of which derives the feminine form. Further connexions are Skt. andhaḥ 'plant':Gk. ánthos, ánthē 'flower'.

ethe 'fever'. This word appears to be an extension of the root $^+$aidh- as in Skt. édhaḥ : Oss. ird : Gk. aĩthos : MIr. áed : Br. oaz : OHG eit :OE ād : OCS jadǐno,etc. The Albanian form derives from a type $^+$aidhst-,cf. Av. istyō 'brick' : Lat. aestus 'heat, fever' : MIr. áith 'kiln' : Cornish eth 'hearth' beside ēth 'vapour, air' : OE āst, Du. eest 'oast,drying kiln' : Lusatian ješć 'foam' beside n-ěšć 'fireplace, oven-hole'(fr. $^+$en-aidhst-).

hije 'shade, shadow, spirit, grace, trace' (variant forms *hie*, and in Italo-Albanian: *hé*): Skt. čhāyā : Tokh. B. skiyo : Per. sāye : Gk. skiā, skiē : Ir. sceo ('cloud') beside scáile 'shadow': Cor. skew 'shelter' :

OS scio 'cover, sky, cloud': OE scēo,id. : OIcel. skjā 'membrane, parchment window' : Slovene 'sij, Srb. sjaj 'brilliance' ; cf. Blg. o-soje,beside o-soja 'shady place' : Latv. (perhaps) seja 'face'. Otherwise universally = 'shade, shadow'. IE^{+}sk̂ii̭ā,$^{+}$sk̂ii̭ə, with adjectival variant IE $^{+}$sk̂ii̭āi̭- as in Skt. čhāyaḥ 'shading'. A denominative verb arises in Alb. hienoj 'shade; sit in shade': Icel. skæna, i-stem 'film over': Cz.stínim 'I shade'. IE $^{+}$sk̂ii̭āni̭ō,$^{+}$sk̂ii̭əni̭ō.

pije 'drink'; cf. Skt. pīy-ūšam 'thick milk' : pīvā 'water': OCS pivo,n. 'beer'. The root is seen in the verb pi, aor.piva 'drink' : Skt. pīye : Gk. (fut.) píomai : OCS pijǫ,etc. An echo of the Albanian form is found in OFr. pie 'drinking, drink' and in OIcel. ā-fir,f.pl.'buttermilk' IE $^{+}$pī-.

rrodhe 'burr' : Gk. rhēkhós, rhākhós 'thorn-hedge, scrub'. IE^{+}ṷrāĝh-,but untraceable elsewhere.

veme, vemje 'grub, worm, maggot': Skt. vemaḫ, véman 'loom' : Av. vaemō,m. 'noose': Gk. oĩmos (2) 'ring' : Lat. vīmen 'osier'. Albanian type $^{+}$ṷoimii̭ə. The variant vjemje (Frashëri) is due to induced iotacism, cf. the name Mjedja beside Medja. The root form occurs in Alb. vej 'weave,twist': Skt. váyāmi.

vithe, usually pl. 'crupper, rump' : Gk. iskhía 'haunch, buttocks'.

The suffix -je, added to the Tosk past participle, forms the verbal noun, but the suffix -ur, where it occurs, is elided. Thus prish-ur 'broken', prishje 'breakage'; fal-ur 'pardoned', falje 'pardon'; bërë 'made', bërje 'making,etc.' The usage has spread to the Geg dialects of Northern Albania. Rarely is this type of noun formed from the stem of the medio-passive, as in gjendje 'condition' (cf. gjíndem 'am found'), beside gjetje 'finding' (pp. gjet-ur 'found'). The dialects of Greece and Italy display -lë for -je, whose origin is obscure.

c. ÍI̭A-stems with penultimate stress

This is a large group of feminine nouns of mainly derivative origin, being commonly formed from adjectives in -të (written also -ët), cf. Greek (de-verbal) adjectives in -tós, Skt. -táḫ : Lith. -tas : OCS -tŭ :Gothic nasiþs, tawiþs,etc. In this respect Albanian runs parallel with Greek (átaktos 'in disorder' : ataksía 'disorder') and occasionally Latin, as in grātus 'kind': grātia 'kindness'. A number of Latin and Greek loanwords fall into this category, cf. *shtëpí* (<hospitium,-ia) 'house'; *mëní*, T *mërí*(<manía) 'hatred, resentment', *stolí*(<stolē) 'decoration', *morí* (1) (<muriás) 'swarm, mass';2 (<Slavonic morija) 'decline,plague', *shkëndí* (< scintilla) 'spark';*magjí* (<mágia) 'magic'; N *ipeshkví*, T *peshkopí* (< episkopḗ),etc.

From adjectives of *t*-type,related to or derived from IE participles , a number of abstracta in -*tí* arise, though the more usual formation is a non-historical duplicated consonant in the form of -*tësí*. The adjectival formant is variously written -*të* or -*ët*, hence *i thartë*, *i tharët* 'sour, acid', radical: thar- from IE $^+$k̂aur-,cf. Lat. caurus 'NW wind': Lith. šiaurùs 'cold, bitter'; šiaurē 'north'; *thartí*,f. 'acidity'. Similarly *i quet* 'alert, astute, clever', archaic pp. of *qoj* 'wake, rouse' : Lat. cieō.

Hence *quetí* 'alertness'. Frequently the adjectival form is extended by -*inë* to indicate a concrete concept as distinct from the abstract in -*tí*. Thus *i thatë* 'dry': Gk. kautós,id. whence *thatinë* 'dry patch, dryness', beside which there occur the forms *thatsinë*, T *thatësirë* 'dryness, drought'.

A common extension to adjectives is -*ní*, T -*ërí*. Cf. *plak*, f: *plakë*, adj. 'old (of persons)'; *pleqní*, T *pleqërí* 'old age', cf. Maced. plakoni 'counsel of elders', surviving in the Albanian form *pleqësí*,id. from a type $^+$plakətii̯ə or similar.

Of uncertain origin are the undoubtedly Albanian words *fuqí* 'strength, power', which seems to contain the element of Skt. sphu-ṭ- 'burst': Gk. sphu-zō 'dash, be keen', root:$^+$sphu- . Cf. also Alb. *fus*, aor.*futa*'poke, thrust' : W ffwd 'dash, haste', IE $^+$sphut-. Further, *hardhí* 'vine' (variants: *orlí*, *dhrí*, *erdhí*); if originally = 'tendrils, tentacles', cf.Hes. skórthoi (queried) 'tentacles, mandibles' or sim. *Lajthí* 'hazel' is of uncertain etymology. The relationship, if any, with OCS lěska 'hazel' , *qua* $^+$lasik̂- :$^+$laisk-, is doubtful. (Not related to Latin larix 'larch', so named from the resinous'drip'of its bark, cf. laricīna 'turpentine' , LLat. laragātum 'resinous wine from larches' beside laser 'gum', Skt.lasikā 'spittle'; lasakaḥ 'a resinous tree'. IE $^+$las- 'drip').

The suffix -*í* also occurs with adjectives of Latin origin, cf.*shpejtí* 'speed', formed from *i* *shpejtë* 'quick'(fr. Lat. expeditus).

V. I-*stems*

This IE type is represented in Albanian by nouns of all three genders. A widely documented form, only the masculine nouns of "inanimate" type display the traditional ending of the plural; the remainder do not differ in any way from the o-stems or the a-stems, there being a preference for the diathematic plural vowel -*a* in masculine nouns of "animate" meaning.

Typical representatives of the i-stem in Albanian are *krimb*,m.'worm', *dritë*,f. 'light', and *elb*,m. (archaic neuter) 'barley'.

amë,f. pl. -*a* 'river-bed': Lat. amnis, g.p. amnium 'river, flood, sea' : Gallo-Lat. ambis 'river' : Gaul. abono-,id. : W afon, pl. afonydd,id. : Br. aven : OIr. aban, gs. abann : Dan.Norw. em,f. 'stream'. IE +abhnis , with variants.

anë,f. (1) 'side', pl.id. : Skt. cf. ántaḥ 'edge, end' : Av. añtō 'end': Tokh. A ānt, B ānte 'plane, surface' ; Arm. cf. ḥ-andiman (:Gk.énanti- : Lat. inante-) 'opposite' : Gk. antíon 'crossbar of loom': Lat. antēs,gp. antium 'rows' (of vines,etc.), beside anteae 'forelocks': MIr. étan, Ir. éadan 'forehead, front' : OHG andī, endī 'forehead, end': OIcel. enni,n. 'forehead; bluff, cliff' beside endi, endir 'tip,end' : Lith. añtis,čio, m.'bosom' : Latv. ots 'boarded side',etc. IE +antis, with variants. For loss of -t- with preservation of n in Tosk, cf. *janë* 'they are'(+esn̥ti).

anë,f. (2) and *enë*, pl. *enë* 'vessel, container'; cf. MIr. án 'cup, vessel', and perhaps Gk. -ēnos,ē,on in several cpds. IE+an- (?).

bal,m. pl. -*a* 'dog with white blaze on forehead'; adj.'albino': Arm.bal, i,iv 'pallor' : Gk. Phalís 'priestess of Juno'; phálos 'white, bright'; cf. Phryg. bálios 'eyeless' : Gaul. balio- 'white blaze' (LW in French baille): Br. bal' 'blaze on animal's head'; adj. 'blazed': W bali,m.id. : Gothic (in Lat. as LW) bala, gs. balanis 'white horse' : Lith. balas, m. 'snowdrop'; balaĩ 'anemony': Blg. bol 'pockmark'. IE +bhalis,os,etc.

bir,m. pl. *bij* 'son', apparently from a type +bhr̥is (IE +-r̥- with i-basis , cf. *birë*, pl.-a,f. 'hole', *biroj* 'I bore': Lat. forāre, OHG borōn). For Albanian *bir*, cf. Goth. baúr 'son, -born': OE byre,id. ; OIcel. burr, pl. burir,id. A zero-grade form of root +bher- 'bear'.

botë,f. (obs.)'time'(Buz.) ; mod. 'world'. The usual plural in -*na*,T -*ra* has been attracted from the n-stems by semantics, cf. *kohë* 'time', pl.*na*, T.-ra,etc. For Alb. botë, cf. Skt. bhātiḥ 'brightness' : Tokh.A pāt, B pate 'face, appearance', and (uncertainly) Lith. botis,ies,f. 'care, attention'. IE +bhātis.

bulë,f. pl. -a 'bud, lobe, fingertip, droplet'; cf. MHG bolle 'bud, bulging vessel : Du. bol 'ball, bulb, globe; bulbous, bloated': Lith.bulis, f. buttock'. IE type +bhulis.

cen,m. pl. -e 'defect, vice' : MIr. cin 'fault, crime, wrong' :Ir.cean , m.id. ; cf. Lat. in-quināre 'accuse, denigrate' (WH confused and untenable) ; OIcel. hvinn, cpds. hvinn- 'pilferer; wrong-'. IE +qu̯en-.

ditë, pl. dit,f.'day' : Skt. dītiḥ 'brilliance'. IE type +dītis.

dritë, pl. -a,f. light' (for vowel cf. bir 'son', krimb 'worm',etc.):Skt. dṛṣṭiḥ,f. 'perception, sight, vision, eye' (o-grade in Av. darstis'sight, seeing'); cf.MIr. drithle 'flash' beside dreach 'face' : W drych'mirror'; OBr. -drichet- '-scope' : OHG zoraht, zorht,adj. 'bright' : OS OE torht, id. and n. 'brilliance'. IE +dr̥k̂tis.

edh,pl.-a,m.'kid' (f: edhe, def: edhja) : Phryg. aizi- 'goat': Arm. ajc, i,iv,id. : Myc. aiki- : Gk. aix, gs. aigós (cons.stem) 'goat'. Variants in Skt. Lith. and Latv. IE +aiĝis. (Not a Latin LW, since haedus would produce Alb. +hjedh, cf. aetātem > jetë, caepa > qepë, caelum > qiell,etc.)

elb 'barley' : Gk. alphi,n. id. The radical seems to echo the IE +albh- 'white', cf. Lat. albus,etc. IE +albhi.

ferrë, pl. -a,f. 'briar': Gaulish sparnos 'thorn': Bret. spern,id.: Cor. spern 'briars, thornbush'; cf. Lith. spar̃nas 'wing, fin, pinion': Latvian spārns,id. Albanian type +sparnis.

grindë,pl. -a,f. 'quarrel'. Albanian type, with i-basis, +gu̯hr̥mtis ;cf.L. fremitus 'din' : Slovene grmèč, Cz. hřmot,id., or from +gu̯r̥mtis,gu̯r̥mtā . in view of Gk. brémō 'roar',etc. and Alb. grênzë 'hornet': Gk.brontḗ, f. 'thunder'. The verbal background is represented in OCS grĭměti, Czech hřmět (i-basis), and Lith. grumēti (u-basis) 'roar, thunder'etc.

grusht,pl.-a,-e,m. (Buzuk: grushtë,f.pl.-a). Of uncertain background,Cf. Pol.garść (u-basis),f.'handful': OCS grŭstĭ,id., said to derive from a radical of type +ger- 'gather, collect', cf. Gk. ageírō,id. IE +gr̥stis?. (Thus most Slavonic etymologists, with reference to Gk. ageírō'assemble', agorá 'assembly, gathering', and further to Serb. grćem, grtati; gȓnuti 'collect, bring together'. Better, however, from a type +ghr̥stis 'clump, cluster, bunch, handful, grip', as perhaps in Gk. khártēs 'papyrus', lit. 'sheaf of reeds'(?): Lat. hostus,ī,m. 'quantity of oil from a single act of pressure' (?) : W gyrth, pl. iau,m. 'punch, blow' : Latv. gurste'knot of flax'. The u-basis of the vowel is indicated in Alb. and Pol.)

grykë, pl.id. and -a,f.'throat'; in pl. also 'goitre'. The i-stem is indicated by the vowel -y-: Arm. kirč, krči,-iv 'gorge'. IE+gu̯r̥̆qu̯is. The radical is also indicated in OIr. brágae 'neck, throat' : Blg. grŭk-lan, m. 'throat': Srb. grk-ljan,id. ; Lith. gurk-lỹs 'larynx'; and the Finnish loanword kurkku 'throat'. A verbal root is indicated in Gk. bráptō (2)'gulp down' : Lith. gurkiu, -ti,id. IE+gu̯r̥̆qu̯i̯ō.

halë,pl.-a,f. 'scale; pine-needle'. Alb. type +skolis. Cf. Gk. skólos 'thorn', and the cpd. skol-ópax 'woodcock' ("bent-bill") : W ysgol, pl. ion,f. (i-stem) (1) 'peak': Cz. skol-ek 'splint, stake': R o-skòl-ok, m. splinter, chip' : Lith. skala,id. : Latv. skals 'log'. The basic notion seems to be that of splitting, cf. Ir. scol-tad 'splitting': Hitt.(queried) skallai(mi) 'split': Lith. skalùs 'fissile', with e-grade in OIcel. skilja 'split': Lith. skélti,id.

helm,pl.-e,m.'poison, grief'; pl. as f. in -e, def. -ja 'tick,mite'. IE type +skolmis: MHG schalm 'plague, corpse, carrion' beside (e-grade) MHG schëlm(e),id. : Ger. Schalm (2) (a horse-disease') beside Schelm, Dutch schelm 'rogue' : OIcel. skelmir 'devil, rogue'.

kedh,pl. -a,m.'kid' ; -e,def.-ja,f.'she-kid'. Albanian type+kaĝis. Adjectival forms occur in Hes. kás 'skin' ; kássos 'greatcoat';kássas, pl. 'shabrack', and a diminutive occurs in Modern Greek (of Macedonian origin?) katsíka 'goat', katsíki 'kid', appearing as LWs in Albanian **kec**, **keç** 'kid', beside **kacek**, **kacik**, **kaciq**, **kaciqe** 'skin-bottle, bagpipes', also as a noun 'kid'. Both noun and adjective are represented in OCS koza 'goat' and koža 'skin', from +kaĝā and +kaĝi̯a respectively. An echo of the word occurs in MHG hache 'lad' (cf. the slang usage of "kid"), from a type +kaĝō(n), and a parallel form with long +ā occurs in OE hēcen, n., LG hœken,n. 'kid'.

krimb, (N) **krymb**, pl.-a,m.'worm, grub': Skt. kr̥miḥ 'worm, insect' : Av. (a-stem) kərəma,f. id. : Per. kirm,id. : Oss. kalm, pl. kälmitä̆,id.(Iranian LW in Arm. šeram,o,ov 'silkworm') : MIr. cruim,f. id. : Br. prév, prénv,id. : W pryf, Cr. prȳf, 'worm; coll. worms' : Li. kirmìs,ies,f.id:

Latv. ķirmis and cirmis,id. Cf. also OCS čĭrmĭnŭ 'crimson'. IE +qu̯r̥mis , with variants. The adjectival type: +qu̯r̥minos. The zero-vowel is with i-basis.

lotë, pl.lot,f. 'teardrop'. N also lot,pl.id.,m. : Arm. lacẹ 'teardrop ; weeping' : Hitt. lac (in the cpd. sar-lac 'crying-up, praise') :Ir. láth 'mating-season' : OCz. láčě 'scolding, slander'. The extension of IE +lā- 'bellow, bark, weep' to 'teardrop' is clear from the Armenian form. The verb root is seen in Skt. rāyāmi : Per. lāyam : Arm. lam, aor. laçi:Hit. sar-lāmi : Lat. lā-mentum : OIr. láaim : Icel. lá : OCS lajǫ :Lith. loju, loti. IE +lāi̯ō.

mal,pl. -e,m. 'mountain': Rum. (substrate) mal,m. 'shore': OIr. mol,m. & moil,f. 'heap' : Latv. mala 'shore' ; up-mala, up-male 'river-bank'. Cf. also (possibly) Skt. marúḥ,m. (2) mountain, cliff', and (uncertainly) ON mǫl,gs. malar,f. shingle': Sw. dial. mal,m.id. Parallel to Alb.mal is Alb. majë, dialectal malë,f.'tip , summit'. Albanian type +molis,m. beside +moli̯ə,f.

mend,m.'mind'; pl. mendë-t used in singular sense (cf. Eng. "brains")beside a parallel fem. form mende, mendje, derived from an obsolete plural in -e (-je from the definite form in -ja by back-formation). IE +mn̥tis; cf. Skt. matíḥ,f. mind, thought' : Av. maitis,id. : Oss. mät 'care':Lat. mens, gp. mentium,f.'mind' beside mentis,f. id.; cf. OIr. co-métaim, vb. 'I guard, mind'; Go. ga-munds,f. mind, recollection': OHG gi-munt,f.'memory' : OE mynd,f.and n. 'mind, thought, memory': OIcel.mynd,pl.-ir,f.'image, manner' : OCS pa-męt',f.'memory' : Lith. mintis,gs.-ies,f.'thought'.

mot,pl-e,and -na (Geg only),m. (obs.) 'time'; (mod.) 'year, weather':Skt. mātiḥ,f. measure, exact knowledge' : Arm. mitḱ,pl.'mind' : Gk. mētis, f. 'wisdom, judgment' ;cf. Lat. mētior,īrī 'measure, judge' : OE maeþ ,f.'degree, measure, right, etc.' ; cf. OS māth- in māth-mundi 'gentle-minded'. (LWs Finnish miete 'thought' : Est. mõte ("mɵte") are said to derive from Germanic as seen in Go. mitōn 'think'). IE +mētis.

muej, pl. id. 'month', formerly a consonantal stem (cf. Gk. mḗn and meís, Myc. mēn-, Doric mḗs 'moon, month', gp. mēnōn: Lat. mēns, gp.mēnsum,id.) has acquired an implied i-stem (muej, not +mue) parallel to that of Old Icelandic máni,m. 'moon'(MHG māne, OS māno, and Lith. mēnuo reflect an ō-extension). Similarly Lat. mēnsis and, according to NSB, Lith.mēnesis, gs. mēnesis, m.(!) 'month'. Albanian type $^+$mēnsis, with compensatory ue (Tosk ua) for loss of $^+$-ns-.

palë,pl.id.,f. 'side, pair, fold, party' : Skt. palam 'flesh',beside kapalam 'half' ; cf. Gk. epi-polẽs 'on the surface', and Lat. inter-polō , -āre 'renew, refashion' : OIcel. fǫl 'thin layer of snow'; fel,f.'pleat, fold' : Ger. -fel in Zwei-fel 'doubt' : OCS polŭ, gs. polu 'side, bank, sex, half' ; pola 'half, margin', cf. poli,prp. w.gen. 'adjoining': Rus. polà 'flap, label' ; pol 'half, sex'; cf. OCz. oba-poly 'twofold': Lith. palas,m., palà,f. width of cloth'; paliai,prp.'along, down'. Albanian type $^+$polis. Other types: $^+$polos,$^+$polā,$^+$polus. The zero-grade is represented in Gk. diplós, di-plóos 'twofold': Lat. du-plus,id.

shul,pl.-a, -e,m.'bar, cylinder, bolt, lever; drum, gun-barrel'; as an adverb 'athwart': Myc. ksulo- (queried) 'axle-tree' : Gk. ksúlon,n. 'beam, stick, wood'; Attic inscrr. súlon,id. : Li. šùlas,m. 'pole, post,cooper's stave'; šulē,f. 'cask'. For the adverbial usage cf. OIcel. skol-beinn,aj. bandy-legged', and cf. further Blg. xŭl-boci 'waist' (cpd.of bok 'side'), beside long-grade ($^+$ū) in Oss. ḱūl kăni̇̆n 'bow': OCS po-xylŭ 'bent': OCz. chyle 'awry' : R xilyj 'infirm': OIcel. skýla 'cut at an angle'. IE $^+$ksul-, ksūl-. Albanian type$^+$ksulis.

tul,pl.-e,m.'flesh, pulp, lean meat': Oss. tĭl, tulä 'temple of forehead' beside tula 'roll of hay': Gk. túlos, túlē 'hump, lump': (prob.) Gaulish toles (err.for $^+$tules?) 'goitre' : OIr. tul 'boss on shield';Ir. tul,m . knob, knoll, forehead' : LG dülle,f.'kind of cake'. Albanian type$^+$tulis. Long-grade occurs in Skt. tūlam 'tuft, cotton, mattress': Gk. sū́lē, and sũlon 'booty': Pol. tyl 'back, buttocks'; OCz. o-tylý , u-tylý 'plump' : Ukr. o-tylyj,id. : Lith. tūlis,io,m. and tūlē 'mass, crowd': Latv. tūļa 'ungainly person'. IE $^+$tūlos,etc.

tytë,pl.-a,f.'vent, pipe'.(The reason for the fronted vowel may be the late preservation of final$^+$-i- after $^+$-t-),cf. Per. tūtī 'parrot': Hes. tutṓ 'owl' beside toũtis 'blackbird': Lith. tūta 'trunk, pipe, muzzle of gun' beside tūtis, gs. tūčio 'dummy teat'. Cf. with extension Ger.dudeln 'tootle' ; Lith. tutlys, tūtlys and tutulis,m. 'hoopoe' beside tūtuoti,v. 'pipe, hoot'. An onomatopoeic root of type $^+$tut-, $^+$tūt-.

vend,pl.-e,m. 'place, country': Skt. vasatíḥ,f. abode, stay'; Gaul.venta 'township': W gwent, pl. -oedd,f. open space' : Br. gwenned 'Vannes':MHG wësent,adj.'being, essential'. IE^{+}u̯esn̥tis.

As with o-stems and a-stems, the diathematic plural-vowel reflects an IE inflection only sporadically. For the most part the plural vowel indicates typology or prehistoric tonicity. Original i-stem endings are apparent in the masculine plurals in -e, cf. also Albanian tre,m.'three': Skt. trayaḥ; matayaḥ ; Gk. treĩs ; póleis ; Lat. trēs; ovēs ; Go. þreis; ansteis; OCS trĭje; gostĭje ; Lith. trȳs ; avys,etc. IE^{+}-ei̯es.

Albanian vesh,pl.id.,m.'ear' undoubtedly belongs to the i-stem represented by Lat. auris : Lith. ausis,id.; cf. the OCS and OPer. dual uši . (Albanian ve- from $^{+}$ău- is also seen in vetë self' : Gk. autós). But variants occur in Goth. ausō, gs.-ins, pl.-ōna (and common Germanic), and in OCS uxo (and common Slavonic), from types $^{+}$ăusō(n) and $^{+}$ăusom respectively. The phoneme -sh- normally represents IE $^{+}$si, cf.dash-un,ur,adj. 'beloved' in relation to Illyrian Dasius, Dasianus beside Dasimos, Dasumius (:Alb. i dashëm 'beloved') and Dazas, gs. dazantis (:Alb. dashës) , etc. as well as the loanwords presh 'leek', from Gk. prásion (beside práson), and kishë, archaic and dialectal, klishë 'church' , from Gk.ekklēsía.

Plurals in -e are characteristic not only of i-stem masculine nouns, nor of singularized plurals that have become feminine. They are also a feature of nouns that are clearly o-stem in origin, cf. varg,m.pl.vargje 'line, row, series': Gk. órkhos; gardh,m. pl. gjerdhe 'fence, enclosure': OCS gradŭ : OHG gart : Lith. gar̃das,id.; and probably also kopsht, m.pl. kopshte 'garden', cf. Gk. kēpos, Alb. type^{+}kāpəstos. That neither the inflection, nor the internal change of vowel, is of ancient origin is indicated by such loanwords as çoban,pl. çobenë and çobenj 'shepherd', from Turkish, and even avokát, pl. avoketën (!) 'lawyer', from French.

VI. U-stems and Diphthongal stems

These occur only as remnants of a former productive type as seen in Gk. nékus, khélus and méthu ; Nēreús, naũs,etc.; Skt. śatruḥ, dhenuḥ, madhu; śvaśrūḥ ; gauḥ, nauḥ,etc. Monosyllabic open radicals are represented by Gk. mũs, Lat. mūs, Skt. mūṣ,etc. The inflection^{+}-us, as opposed to the inflections^{+}-os, -a, -om, tends to represent functional aspect; contrast Latin domus '(functional) house' as against Gk. dómos 'building', Sanskrit śáruḥ 'arrow' as against śaráḥ 'reed, shaft'. ; Gk. krokús 'pile on textiles' as against krókē 'weft'. The same principle is evident in OCS u-stems such as domŭ 'house', činŭ 'rank',etc.

Albanian nouns reflecting this Indo-European category end in an open vowel, and those that end in -á, -é and -í are masculine. Because internal and final Albanian -h- is held sometimes to represent IE +-k̂u-, this may indicate a prototype u-stem whose identity in Albanian has been lost. The masculine extension in -í seems to represent an earlier +-éus(or perhaps +-éu̯os, +-íu̯os) in view of the early loanword (Germanic via Slavonic) gáti 'ready', from +gáteu̯-, cf. OCS gotovŭ (the immediate source), and, like Rumanian gata 'ready',ultimately from a Germanic type +ga-tēwi as seen in Goth. ga-tēwjan 'arrange'; gatēwiþs 'arranged': OE ge-tāwe,-tǣwe 'prepared',etc.

eh,m.'cutting-edge' : Skt. āśúḥ 'quick, "sharp"': Av. āsus,id.: Arm.-ujš in an-ujš ("not-sharp") 'sweet' (+n̥-ōk̂us) : Myc. and Gk. ōkús 'swift,keen, sharp', cf. n-ōkar ("not sharpness") 'lethargy' : Lat. ōcior 'quicker' ; ōcius 'more quickly' : Sequanian ox (queried) 'keen' : Gaul oci-omu,adj. 'most keen' : W awg 'sharpness, keenness' ; OBrit. di-auc ("not sharp"), adj. 'slow' :Br. di-œk,OCor. dioc, diec, W di-og,id. IE +ōk̂us. A variant occurs in teh 'cutting-edge'. The verbal compound mpreh (mpref)'sharpen' is made up of the components +en-per-ōk̂u- (or +en-pro-ōk̂u-).

gur,m. pl. gurë 'stone' (object and substance). This much disputed word seems to form part of the Illyrian place-name Tragurion, Tragurium (with variants Trigurio, and even Tetraggurin!). Probably from an IE +gu̯r̥us,as in Skt. gurúḥ 'heavy': Av. gourus : Arm. krem 'I carry, bear, suffer' : Gk. barús 'heavy' : Goth. kaúrus,id. (with other IE variants and cpds.).

krah,m. pl. krahë 'arm, shoulder', fig. 'side', cf. krahanuer, krahnuer, T kraharuar, krahëror 'chest'. IE type +krok̂us 'lateral piece, beam'etc. Cf. Gk. krókē 'woof', beside króssai 'battlements':(?) Lat. crux,crucis,f. 'cross, gallows' (ambiguously from +krok- or +kruk-) : W crog 'crossbeam', (distinct from the LW croes 'cross') : Br. krogen, pl. kregin (2) ' pot-handle' (?) : MHG rahe 'post, stay, sailyard' (Kluge 17: Rahe untenable); cf. perhaps Sw. ro, pl.-er 'hipbone' (Hellquist uncertain, but if to ON hrœrar ,m.pl. 'groin' cf. the Gk. variant krõssai 'battlements, course in stonework') : Pol. krok (2) 'groin' beside krokiew, Cz. krokev 'rafter , spar' : Lith. krakē 'stick' : Latv. krak̦is 'stool, stand, gable'. The

Balto-Slavonic forms, however, point to a type +krok-, kroku-.Uncertain.

miell, T *mjell*,m. 'flour'. IE type +melu, meleu̯-, cf. Myc. meleuro-'meal, flour': OHG mëlo, gs. melawes,id. : OE melu, gs. melwes,id.: OIcel.mjǫl, ds. mjǫlvi,id. : R melevo 'millings' beside Srb. mlivo 'flour': Li.maliava 'millings, milling'.

vjehërr,m. father-in-law; f. mother-in-law'. From IE+su̯ek̂uros and+su̯ek̂rūs respectively. For the first, cf. Skt. śváśuraḥ : Av. qasurō : Per. xusur : Gk. hekurós : Lat. socer, gs. socerī : W chwegr-wn : Go. swaíhra; OE swēor : OHG swëhur : Lith. šẽšuras, šẽšeras, with a velar variant in OCS svekrŭ. For the second, cf. Skt. śvaśrūḥ : Per. xušū : Arm.skesur, kesur (initial consonants unexplained) : Gk. (variant) hekurá : Lat. socrus, gs. -ūs: W chwegr : Cor. wheger : Go. swaíhrō beside OHG swigar. A velar variant arises in OCS svekry, pl. svekrŭve.

Open Radicals

Nouns of this kind are of various origin. Several are untraceable. Of those with an ascertainable history, the following illustrate the open radical resulting from loss, apocope, or simplification of the final syllable.

arí,pl.id.,m. 'bear'; *arushë*,pl.-*a*,f. 'she-bear'. The masculine form represents a type based on onomatopoeia (the growl of the European bear) , and reduces to a form +ərˀs-,-rˀs-, in which ˀ represents a glottal stop. The formula+ˀs seems to be a legitimate phonemic group in the IE protoglossa (formerly described as "+kþ" to accommodate words found in Sanskrit with kṣ, and in Greek with kt). Evidence for this occurs in a number of words of a-vocalism or zero vocalism which stand apart from the gradation mechanism posited for Indo-European as a whole. The question of their origin is an open one, but it is a matter of legitimate conjecture that loanwords entered the protoglossa in prehistoric times, and that among them may have been metal names, tools, trees, cries to horses, and other odd terms. A closer study of Basque and Caucasian might throw some more light on this problem.

Of special interest are the types tentatively reconstructed as+auˀsom 'gold', +oˀst- 'bone' , and +alˀsnos,i̯os 'alder'. These forms appear in Latin as aurum, os, gs. ossis, and alnus respectively. But their Lithuanian forms are of particular interest, since the presumed glottal stop appears as a -k-, cf. Lith. áuksas 'gold', *ãkštai in kab-ãkštai'skeleton' (lit. 'loosely-held bones', cf. kabùs 'loosely held'), and al̃ksnis,io,m. 'alder'. Whether or not these words have extensions outside the IE field similar words do occur in Basque, cf. urhe 'gold', and altz 'alder', and by way of semantic reinforcement, cf. Basque sarats 'willow' in relation to Latin salix and its kin. In support of an IE reconstruction +ərˀs,or +r̥ˀs, cf. Skt. ṛkṣaḥ, Av. arəšō, Per. xirs, Oss. ars, Hittite (queried) hartagga- : Gk. árktos beside (once) arx : Gaulish arto- : W arth:Br.arz (in kraban-arz 'bear's breech') ; cf. Lith. irštvà 'bear's den', with an extension in Basque artz 'bear'. The Armenian form is arǰ, Alb. arí.

For the type +oˀst-, oˀstn-, cf. Hittite hastī (written hastāi) (with the laryngal echo of Hitt. hartagga-),Skt. ásthi, stem. asthn-: Av.astis: Tokh. āsta,pl. : Gk. ostéon (Gk. ostón 'shell'): Alb. asht, pl.éshtna: Lat. os, gs. ossis : R. óstov 'skeleton'.

The Albanian form arí 'bear' indicates a prototype +əreu̯o- (cf. gati) rather than +ərūs, especially in view of the feminine form arushë, from +əreusi̯ə. The ultimate prototype +ərˀs- is not apparent in the Albanian form. Definite form: aríu.

barí,pl.id.,m. 'shepherd'. A difficult word to trace, but probably from a prototype +bhoreu̯o- or +bhoreu-. Equally obscure is Alb. berr 'small domestic animal, sheep or goat, ewe-lamb';pl.-a,-e 'livestock', perhaps from +bhori̯o-, beside (Buzuk) berua,f. 'ewe' (fr. +bhōr-? cf. OCS baranŭ, boranŭ, Cz. beran 'ram'). Definite form baríu.

dhé, def. dheu, pl. -na,T -ra 'land, country, soil'. The plural form is typological (names of substances, elements,etc.). According to Boisacq and others: Greek gẽ, gaĩa,f. 'land, place' derive from a type +ĝau̯-, a formula which fits Albanian dhe, gs. dheu, especially in view of the corrupt Laconian "gabergór", lit. "landworkers" (+ĝau̯-u̯erĝo-). A frequent isogloss of this word occurs in the place-names of Dalmatia, Dacia, and Moldavia, in the sense of 'land, settlement'; cf. Dacian Arge-dava,Burridava, Rami-dava, Singi-dava, and the hybrid Thermi-dava (Danj in Dalmatia), as well as Pulpu-deva (sic) "Philippopolis" (Pârvan) and Moldavia, Slavicized as Moldova in its Rumanian form (lit. "mountain country"). It is not certain if the word gavisa (="lands"?), occurring in a Sequanian lead tablet inscription, belongs here. The name Daverzeus, with plurals:

Daoursioi, +Daorzioi (misspelt Daórizoi by Strabo), seems to equate with gabergo-,*qua* 'landworker'. IE type +ĝău̯-u̯erĝo-.

grue, T *grua*, pl. *gra*,f. 'woman' ; Buz. *gruo* ; Harff: *growa*,id. : Myc. cf. karawe (for grāwes) 'old women': Hom. grēus, grēús, beside graũs,gs. grāós; pl. graíē, graúis, graĩa. Other connexions uncertain, but possibly onomatopoeic (cf. Eng. "crow" = "old woman" for the sense).IE+grāu̯s.

mi, gs. *miu*, def.id., pl. *minj* 'mouse'; *cica-mí* (orn.) 'titmouse'.A word of wide documentation : Skt. mūṣ : Per. mūš : Oss. musú, mĭsĭ (an unidentified small animal) beside mĭst, mistä 'mouse': Gk. mũs, gs.muós : Lat. mūs, gp. mūrum and mūrium : OHG mūs, pl. mūsi : OE mūs, pl. mȳs: OIcel. mús, pl. mýss : OCS myšĭ. IE+mūs (formerly "consonantal" according to Braune, also "consonantal" in early Latin). A diminutive occurs in Arm. mukn, pl. mkunḱ : Skt. mūṣikaḥ, mūṣikā : OCS myšĭcĭ,m., myšĭka,f. IE +mūsikos,ā. The first part of Alb. *cicamí* is , like English tit-, based on onomatopoeia. An Albanian variant of *mí*,gs. *miu* occurs as *mî*,gs. *mîni* in the Geg dialects of the north. The plural *minj* may have given rise to this by back formation; its origin seems to be in the IE accusat.pl. +mūsn̥s, cf. Gk. múas. Its common gender in Skt. Gk. and Slav.(usu. fem., but m. in Srb.) indicates one function of the consonantal stems in IE.

njerí, pl. *njerëz*,m. 'man, male, human being' (homo). The prevailing usage is that of Gk. anthrõpos. Cognate forms are Skt. náraḥ 'man' : Av. nar, narō, beside the consonantal stem nā, as. narəm : OPer. -nara- (in cpds.) : Per. nar 'male' : Gk. anḗr, gs. andrós (with unexplained initial) : Scythian enárees 'hermaphrodites' : Osc. niir, gp. nerum 'man', beside Umbr. nerf,acc.pl.'chiefs, elders', dp. nerus : MIr. ner 'boar': OW ner 'lord' : OBr. ner, pl.iu 'lord, master' : Slovene neres,m.'boar'.The Albanian form seems to derive from an adjectival type +nerii̯o-, neri̯o- , as seen in Skt. naryaḥ 'manly'; m. 'man' : Per. narī 'virility' : Gk.Hes. neirós (2) 'strong' : Lat. neri-ōsus 'strong'. The plural in -*ëz*, def. -*ëzit* is isolated and unique, and may indicate a second element in a synthetic compound.

shi, def. *shiu*,pl. *shina*, T *shira*,m. 'rain'. (The plural form is typological, indicating an "element"). Albanian *sh*- seems to represent a conditioned reflex of IE +s- before a laryngalized +ü̆ (?), since the normal reflex is *gj*-. For a supposed IE +suhu̯o-> +sūu̯o- Cf. Hitt. suhhai'pours, sprinkles' (as opposed to Hitt. suwa(mi) 'press out : Skt. su-), and cf. further Tokh. swase, B swese 'rain', suw- 'to rain' : Gk.hűei 'it rains' beside huetós 'rain, downpour' and probably also hú-alos ("water-salt"), f. 'alabaster, glass'. More uncertain is the further relationship of a type +suhu̯os > +sūu̯os as represented in Hittite suhhas 'roof': Arm. ḱiv, ḱuo, ḱuov 'eaves, roof-gutter' : Goth. ubi-zwa 'hall': OE yfese, efese,f. 'eaves' (also 'edge, border') (for the first part cf. Goth. uf, and Ger. ob- in Ob-dach,etc.).

thi, def. and gs. *thiu*, pl. *thí*, T *thinj*,m.'pig, hog, boar' : Skt. śū-, in śū-karaḥ 'boar, hog' : Gk. Myc. sũs, gs. suós,m.f. 'hog, boar, sow' . Cf. (?) Latv. sivens 'sucking-pig' . IE +k̂ūs, k̂ū̆-.

The etymologies of *ka*, gs. *kau* 'ox', *verí*, gs. *veriu* 'north' ,and *vlla*, *vëllá*, gs. *vllau*, *vëllau*, pl. *vllazën*, T *vëllezër* 'brother' are uncertain. The form *va*,gs. *vau*,m. 'ford' derives from IE +u̯adho-, cf. Latin vadum and Eng. wade.

VII. Consonantal Stems

Consonantal stems are difficult to identify in Albanian. Of the examples that follow, only two display distinctive features that point to a consonantal origin, and appear to derive their plural vowel by compensatory lengthening or a change of tonicity. They are *derë* 'door',pl.*dyer*, and *dorë* 'hand', pl. *duer*, T *duar*. Other examples have the characteristics of Albanian nouns in general (cf. *motër*, pl. *motra* 'sister', showing the typical diathematic -*a*- found in the plural of disyllables). The word *natë* 'night' displays the plural form *net*, a fact that suggests a shift from the consonantal declension to the i-stem. The word *muej*,Tosk: *muaj* 'month' shows by its final consonant a shift to the i-stem.

derë,pl. *dyer*,f. 'door': Tokh. twere, and pl. tweri,id.: OCS dvĭrĭ, pl. dvri,id. , with variants in Greek, Latin and Germanic. Alb.type +dhu̯er-. The Latin form fŏrēs, gp. forium is i-stem, but Lithuanian dùrys, g. pl. dùrų and ON dyrr,pl. 'door' are consonantal. OHG turi has both i-stem & consonantal forms (gp. turo, turio). Arm.durḱ is of consonantal type.

dorë,pl. *duer*, T *duar*, Buzuk *duor*,f. 'hand': The implied long +ē of the Albanian form arises in marginal cognate forms such as Lat. hēr-ēs,-ēdis ("eater from the hand"?) 'heir', and perhaps in Lith. žēris,io,m. 'rakeful'. Otherwise IE +ĝher-, with short +-e-, as in Skt. háras 'grasp' :

Tokh. A tsar, B ṣar'hand' : Arm. dzer̄n, dzer̄in,-amb,instr.sg. dzer̄b,npl. dzer̄ḱ,id. Myc. -ker-: Gk. kheír,Dor.khers; dpl.and instr. khersí; cf.Lat. (Sabine) hir 'hollow of hand', also probably (in view of Osc. heriiad,3s. 'takes') hir-ūdō 'leech'. Cf. also Gk. khēr-ámbē ("grip-rim") 'scallop'. Albanian type $^{+}$ĝhēr-.

dhândërr, T dhëndër, pl. id.and -a,m. 'son-in-law'; cf. Skt. jā́mātr,'son-in-law' as the probable isogloss, but cf. also (for the sense) Lat.gener, gs. generī,id., OCS zętĭ,id., and Lith. žéntas,id. IE root $^{+}$ĝen-,$^{+}$ĝn̥-.

gjoll, gjollë,m.f. 'salt-lick'. A word with widespread connexions. Cf. Skt. sáligaḥ (an epithet of the sea) : Tokh. A sāle, B sālyi 'salt':Oss. cf. xärän, Dig. xwärän 'salt place' : Arm. ay,i,iv 'salt', beside anali 'unsalted' : Gk. hals, gs. halós 'salt; sea' : Lat. sāl, gs. salis 'salt' cf. salēs, gp. salium 'witticisms' (i-stem), and salum,n. 'sea':OIr. sál 'sea, brine' : Ir. sáile, gs. id. 'brine, seawater' : W hal,pl.ion, oedd 'chemical salt' ; adj.'saline' ; cf. Br. halen 'salt' beside héli, hili 'brine', Cor. holan 'salt', hyly 'brine' : OCS (and common Slav) solĭ,f. 'salt' ; cf. Lith. į-salis 'piquancy' ; sálstu, sálti 'grow, piquant,get sour or sweet'; solymas,m. 'brine' : Latv. sāls, gs. sāļu,f.'salt'. Cf. also the derivative Albanian forms i gjel-bët, i njel-bët, i njel-ëm,adj. 'salt, briny' beside gjellëz,f. 'salt'. The Albanian form gjoll(ë) indicates a consonantal background (ll not l), though cognates, and derivatives (with l) , indicate i-stem. The extensions in -bët are unexplained. IE $^{+}$sāl- beside $^{+}$sal-. The form gjellëz represents a diminutive of type $^{+}$salidi̯ā , cf. Gk. -ís, -idion.

mjaltë,n.'honey' (def. mjaltë-t): Hitt. melit,id. ;cf. Scyth. melition,n. (a beverage) : Myc. and Gk. méli, gs. mélitos,n. 'honey' : Lat. mel, gs. mellis, g.pl. mellum,id. MIr. meild, beside mil, gs. meala,id.: OBr.mel, W mêl, Br. mél,m. 'honey, sap, marrow': Go. miliþ,n. 'honey'. IE $^{+}$melit. A form, ultimately adjectival, occurs in Alb. mjalcë 'honey-bee' : Gk. melíssios,adj. 'made by bees': OIr. milis 'sweet' : W melys,id.: Gaulish melisso-,id. ; cf. OE -melst, -melsc-,-milsc (cpds.) and milisc,adj.id.; cf. Lith. mēlisa 'nectary'. IE $^{+}$meliti̯os, with variants.

motër, pl. motra,f. 'sister'. In the sense of 'mother' (IE $^{+}$mātēr,mātr-) this word is common to all IE languages. Skt. mātṛ́ also applies to a female relative, but the line of evolution from 'mother' to 'sister' is obscure. The Albanian plural is purely phonological, and is dictated by gender and the disyllabic singular form.

natë, pl. net, f. 'night'. (For the omission of IE $^{+}$k/k̂ cf. dritë 'light' and dhiet, T dhjetë 'ten'). Of almost universal IE documentation. The forms that indicate a consonantal type of declension in the prototype include Vedic nak, Gk. núx, OLat. nox 'by night': Goth. nahts, id., also a consonantal noun, gp. nahtē : OHG naht, gp. nahto; Cz. Veliko-noce, gp. -noc 'Easter', and Lithuanian naktìs, g.p. naktų. IE $^{+}$nokts beside i-stem $^{+}$noktis (both found in Sanskrit). Albanian nesër 'tomorrow' represents a type $^{+}$nokti̭or, cf. W neithiwr, neithwyr 'last night', Br. neizœr, neizür, neichur, id. beside $^{+}$noktōr in Gk. núktōr 'by night', cf. Lat. noctur-nus, adj. The Italo-Albanian form is nestër, but a parallel form nesë 'tomorrow' seems to represent a form $^{+}$nokti-, cf. Tokh.A noktin 'in the evening'. Adverbial forms sonte 'tonight', and nádje 'in the morning' are described under ADVERB, q.v. (page 196).

Notes on Consonantal Stems

The Tosk plural of mi 'mouse' is minj. This seems to represent a reconstituted plural of type $^{+}$mūsins, of accusative origin, indeed OHG provides evidence of this (non-historical) formation, viz. mūsi (with analogous formations in other Germanic languages) as against sūi 'swine', both of which words have passed into the i-stem declension from a once-consonantal type (see W. Braune: Althochdeutsche Grammatik, 2, § 219, Note 1). Similarly OCS myši, as against Gk. múas, húas (from $^{+}$mūn̥s, sūn̥s). Vedic mūṣ suggests that IE $^{+}$s was here, as in Persian mūš, part of the stem, rather than an ending. See page 85.

The form muej, muaj 'month' is discussed on page 79.

The irregular plural of dele 'sheep' is (archaic) dhendë, mod. dhenë, T dhënë. This seems to represent a type $^{+}$ĝent- or $^{+}$ĝendh-, cf. Icel. kind, fem. sg. 'sheep'. Further evidence is wanting.

N/R-stems of consonantal origin.

Nouns of this type are those which retain the traditional n-extension in singular and plural. The alternative r-extension is a Tosk feature which appeared in Albanian between about 1250 and 1450; words later than this are not affected by this consonantal change. Tosk n- is preserved if originally followed by an unstressed -i-, as Tosk and Geg qen 'dog', from Latin canis, Tosk and Geg janë 'they are', from IE +ésn̥ti, cf. Gk. eisí, Doric entí. Nouns which display -n-/-r- in the plural, but not in the singular are typological rather than historical, and represent elements, substances, times and seasons, parts of the body,etc. One noun (asht, m. 'bone', pl. eshtna, eshtëra) displays a plural -n- found also in Sanskrit asthi, pl. asthāni (-ni representing IE+-nə). The typological factor may have been generalized from a type represented in Vedic ahar, n., 'day', gs. ahanaḥ, later ahnaḥ ("elemental" or "time" notion); Hittite esḫar,n. gs. esḫanas 'blood' ("elemental") ; Gk. hṹdōr,n. 'water' ("elemental"), oũthar,n. 'udder' ("part of body") ; Lat. femur, archaic gen. sg. feminis 'thigh' ("part of body"),etc. These typological forms are listed separately in the next section. Among them occurs a small body of nouns that have verbal connexions, cf. lumë 'river' in relation to Greek loũma 'stream': loúō 'wash'.

Another factor in Indo-European semantics gave rise to a widely documented range of nouns in -n- derived from primary nouns. These secondary or derivative nouns represent "association with" or "derivation from" a simpler notion within the same category. A good example of this occurs in Gk. thurṓn 'entrance hall' (thúrā 'door') ; Armenian dur̄n 'door,gate' (durḱ 'door'); Goth. daúrōns 'doorway' (daúr 'door').

a.N-stems, with -n-(T -r) preserved in singular

dimën, T dimër,m. pl. dimna, dimra 'winter' : Gk. kheĩma,id. IE +ĝheimn̥. Parallel forms include Skt. himáḥ, himā, hemantáḥ ; Av. zima,gs.zimahē ; Per. zim-istān ; Oss. zĭmäg, zumäg ; Lat. hiems, hiemis ; MIr. gaim, beside gem-red ; Gaul. giam- ; Sequanian giamon ('snow'); W gauaf ; Bret. goanv, goan, guian ; OCS zima (and common Slav) ; Lith. žiema : Latvian ziema,id. IE +ĝheim-, ĝhei̯əm-, ĝhim-. An extended form of type +ĝhimər- also occurs.

êmën, T ëmër,m.pl. êmna, ëmra 'name': Skt. nāma : Gk. ónoma : Lat. nōmen: Goth. namō : Oss. nom, non : Ir. ainm : W enw : Arm. anun : OCS imę. The -n- element persists in the plural of several cognate forms,cf. Sanskrit nāmāni (fr. +nōmenə, the second -ā- being of secondary origin); Armenian anuanḱ ; Lat. nōmina ; Goth. namna ; OCS imena. The IE vocalism as it appears from derived forms alternates between +ənə- and +ənō-. The Albanian

reflects that of Old Prussian emmens, emnen (as given by Boisacq).
gomën, pl. gomna,f. 'gorge; water-hole' (Geg only). From a type +ghāmn- , cf. Hes. khēmē 'gape, yawn' ; OHG guomo 'palate' : OIcel. gómr,id. Li. gomurys,m. and gomerē,f. id. ; Latv. gāmurs 'windpipe'. Root +ghā-'gape'.
gjarpën, T gjarpër,pl. gjërpinj,m. 'snake'. Radical +serp- 'creep' as in Skt. sárpāmi : Gk. hérpō : Alb. gjerp : Lat. serpō. For the noun cf. Skt. sarpáḥ 'creeping; snake' ; Gk. herp-etón 'reptile' : Lat. serpens, gs. serpentis 'snake' beside OLat. serpulla 'serpent': Gk. hérpullos,m & f. (a creeping plant) 'thyme', cf. Lith. sef̃pē (bot.) 'bugle' ; OIcelandic serfr 'snake'. The Albanian plural points to a form either +serpentes or +serpenes.

Other words of this type include native and borrowed terms, some of which bear a "Doric" stamp indicating a common origin with similar terms found in Greek. Such are krehën, T krehër,m. 'comb' (variants: krahân,beside kërhân, T kërhër) ; plehna, plehëra,m.pl. 'rubbish'; thekën,thekër, f.'rye' (IE radical +k̂ak- 'spike', cf. thakë 'awns' ; Skt. śakuláḥ , m . spur on cow's hoof'; Per. sag-ak 'buckle' : Lith. šakē 'fork',beside Alb. i thekët 'sharp, piercing' : Skt. śaktiḥ 'spear' : Gk. káktos 'cardoon - thistle'); dhelpën, dhelpër,f. 'fox', cf. perhaps Skt. jalpanaḥ 'chattering',etc.; drapën, drapër, pl. drëpenj, drëpinj 'sickle', of common origin with Gk. drápanon, drépanon ; pjepën, T pjepër,m. 'melon' (Gk.pépōn); mokën, mokër,f. 'millstone' (cf. Gk. mēkhanḗ 'device').

b. Typological plurals in -na,T -ra, -ër(cf. pp.88,89)

Albanian words of this type represent substances and bodily products,expressions relating to times or seasons, parts of the body, edible substances, etc. The plural factor is also found in loanwords relating to status (where it is still productive!) and in a small number of nouns of indeterminate category, including Turkish loans. Some nouns of masculine gender are subject to internal vowel change from -a- to -e-. Several nouns of this category in Tosk form the plural in -ër, def. -ërit.
asht,m.pl. eshtna, T eshtra 'bone' : Skt. asthi, pl. asthāni,etc. Cf.Li. kab-akštis 'skeleton' . IE +o'sti-.
at, T atë, with hypocoristic or personal particle preceding the noun: i ati, acc. t'anë, gds. t'et; pl. etën, etër and atën, atër, def.-it,m.irr.

'father'(a "feminine" form atë, def. ata also occurs): Oss.äda,id.: Hitt. attas : Gk. átta : Lat. atta : OIr. ate, MIr. aite, oide, aitte :OCS cf. otĭcĭ ($^{+}$atikos),id. IE $^{+}$at-,$^{+}$att-, Ir. variant: $^{+}$ati̯ə.

ballë,m.pl. ballna, T ballëra (a fem. ballë-a, and a neut. ballë-t also occur in the singular)'forehead' : Gk. phálos 'headpieoe' ,cf. also phál- in phál-agx, -aggos ("front-wedge") 'phalanx, battle-front', uncertainly Lith. baĩnas 'saddle'. Albanian type $^{+}$bhal-. Further connexions include Latin fala 'battering ram', beside in-fula 'headgear, diadem, garland on horns of sacrificial animal'; W bâl, pl. baloedd 'peak, prominence': OIce. bǫllr 'spearhead of battle-front', bali 'grassy bank' : OPr. ballo'forehead'. The radical seems to be present in Gk. phal-aris 'coot',and is long grade in Skt. bhālam 'forehead'.

bar,m.pl. barna, barëra 'herb, grass, drug' ; cf. Gk. phár-makon (" compressed herb") 'drug'; MIr. barr 'foliage, shock of hair' : W bar 'tuft, bunch' : OIcel. barr 'pine-needles' : OCS borŭ, borije 'pine, fir(s)',cf. Latv. bar-ība 'fodder'. IE^{+}bhar-.

bimë,f.pl. -na,-ra 'plant'. A type of verbal noun as represented in Gk. phūma 'outgrowth, tumour' in relation to phúō, Skt. bhūman 'earth'in relation to bhū-. The verbal background of Albanian bimë is bij 'sprout'. IE $^{+}$bhūi̯ō (or^{+}bhu̯ii̯ō). Of various plural formation are the verbal nouns brimë 'hole' (biroj 'I bore') ; brumë 'yeast, plasma' (mbruj 'knead,ferment'); frymë 'breath' (fryj 'I blow'). The nouns britëm, 'shout',klithëm 'cry', and drithëm 'tremor' also have verbal connexions.

In the following examples the plural form is typological, not historical: det,m. 'sea' ; djathë, m.& n. 'cheese' (from a type^{+}ĝhest- via an assimilated $^{+}$ĝheḱt-, cf. E yeast and Ger.gären 'ferment', Gischt, Gäscht 'foam, ferment'); drithë,m. & n. 'wheat' (from a type $^{+}$ĝhrīdhst-, cf. E 'grist') ; dhe 'land, earth' (cf. Gk. gaĩa) ; erë 'wind, air' (fr. Latin aer, ultimately Gk.); farë,f. 'seed; kind' (cf. Gk. sporá); gisht,m.'finger' (archaic glisht (Gk-Alb.) beside gjisht; T pl. gishtër, gishtrinj) (cf. MHG klīster 'glue'; Ger. Klitsch, Norw. kliss 'sticky mess'; Hes. glítton 'gum',etc.); gromë,f. 'belch' (a verbal noun type without a simplex, cf. Latv. grēmens 'heartburn'); gjak 'blood'(an o-stem, cognate w. Gk. opós 'juice' : OE sēaw,id.: OCS sokŭ,id. : Lith. sakaĩ,pl.'resin'. IE $^{+}$soqu̯os); gjuhë,f. 'tongue'(archaic gluhë, of uncertain origin);gjumë,m.

'sleep' (from a type $^{+}$supnos, cf. Gk. hupnos,etc.); kohë,f. 'time'(from a type $^{+}$qu̯ēsā, cf. OCS časŭ); kripë (N dial. krypë),f. 'salt' (cf.OE hrȳfing 'scabbiness' beside OIcel. hrufa 'roughness of skin'); lumë,m. pl. (T) lumënj 'river' (cf. Gk. lūma 'stream', but perhaps a Latin LW from flumen, pl. flumina); mish,m.and n. 'flesh, meat' (perhaps from a prototype $^{+}$mēmsom, with special evolution of $^{+}$-ms- to Alb. -sh) ; pleh,m. usu. in pl. plehna, plehra 'sweepings, rubbish, manure': Arm. eyeamn, gen.sg. eyeman 'drizzle, hoarfrost': OE filmen 'film, skin': OCS plěsnĭ 'mildew'; cf. Lith. pelēsiai,m.pl.id. IE $^{+}$pelesmon- with variants); shi, m. 'rain' (radical $^{+}$sū-,cf. Gk. hu-étos,etc.) ; shtat, pl.$^{+}$shtetna,m. (Geg only thus, cf. also Geg korp,m.pl. korpna 'body' ,fr. Lat.) 'figure,form, body' (fr. Lat. status);shtrat, pl. shtretna, shtretën, shtretër,m.'bed' (fr. Lat. stratus); tokë,f. pl. tokna, tokëra 'land, earth,soil'(uncertainly to Hittite tēkan, gs. taknas 'earth'. IE $^{+}$tēk-?) ; ujë,m.& n. pl. ujna, T ujëra 'water' (of uncertain origin). For botë, pl. botna, botëra,see page 76 (I-stems). For mot (I-stem) see page 79.

The form gjâ, T gjë, pl. gjâna, gjëra,m. 'thing' is isolated, cf. Gk. to ón, to eón 'fact, truth' (IE^{+}esont,$^{+}$sont as in Lat. sons, gs. sontis, lit. 'factual', hence 'guilty' : Skt. asát, sat 'entity' ($^{+}$esn̥t,$^{+}$sn̥t) : OCS sy,m.n. 'being').

Apocopated nasal types with def.Geg -ni, Tosk -ri

A number of nouns occur in which prototype $^{+}$-n- disappears in the nom. and acc. sing, and reappears in the gen. and dat. sing as Geg -ni, Tosk -ri, with nasal palatalism throughout the plural. The group includes a number of loanwords of "Doric", Greek, Latin, and even Turkish background but inherited terms preponderate, not all of them traceable as IE. Occasionally Tosk preserves -n- in the nom. and acc. sing. The following is a representative list of nouns of this type: blî, gs. blîni, def.nom.sg. id.'limetree'; brî, brîni, T briri 'horn' ,cf. Hes. bréndos 'stag', beside the adjectival form bréntion 'stag's head' (Strabo gives the word as Messapian, a word that has been linked with the name of Brindisi, Lat. Brentesium, Brundisium and Brundusium, from the shape of its harbour) ; carâ,ni 'hearthstone, kerb'; crrâ,ni 'distributary, millstream'; drâ, ni 'lees of oil or butter, wine-tartar'; drê,ni, T -ri 'stag'; gjî,ni,T -ri 'bosom, bay' ; cf. Lat. sĭnus,id.,but without further known connexions ; drû,ni, T dru,ri 'tree, timber': Gk. acc. drũn 'tree, oak'; cf. Skt.dru- in cpds.; dullî,ni, T dullí,ri 'juniper' ; cf. Gk. gē-thullís 'garlic'or sim. (for the semantics, cf. Lat. fūmus terrae > Fr. fumeterre); Lith. & Latv. dusulys, dusulis 'asthma'. IE $^{+}$dhuslo- 'breath, exhalation';florî, ni, T florí,ri 'gold', fr. florinus 'flowered', from the emblem on Florentine coinage; ftue, T ftua, def.ftoni, ftoi 'quince' , from Lat. cotoneum, from Greek via Etruscan, with change from u to o, d to t as in Gk. spurída,acc. > Lat. sporta. The Albanian form is aphetic in terms of the vowel (kot> kt> ft as in Latin lucta > Alb. luftë 'war'); gdhê,ni, Tosk gdhḗ, ri 'knot in wood'; grî,ni, T gri,ri 'whetstone' cf. Lat. frendō,v. 'gnash, crush', and Eng. to grind; gjû,ni, T gju,ri 'knee' , Buz. glu,pl. glunj. For a parallel with long $^{+}$ū cf. Wel. glin, Ir. glún 'knee'; hî,ni, T hi,ri 'ash (substance)'; hû,ni, T hu,ri 'stake' ; kallî,ni, T kallí, ri 'ear (of corn), haulm', beside EMAlb. kall, pl. kallëz,id.: OCS klasŭ 'barb, awn, ear' ; R kolosĭja 'ears of corn'; kanû,ni 'tribal law'(Geg), fr. Gk. kanṓn ; kapërcû,ni and kërcû,ni, T kërcu,ri 'trunk, stump, log', from a type $^{+}$kopritii̯ō̆- (?) beside $^{+}$kortii̯o-, cf. Lat. curtus, OCS kratŭkŭ 'short'; kërthî,ni, T kërthí,u 'babe-in-arms, weakling (lamb or kid)';cf. Skt. kṛśáḥ beside kṛṣáḥ'lean, stunted' : Av. kərəsō,id. ; Lat. cracens ($^{+}$-ā-) 'slim, lean': Cz. krs 'dwarf tree' : Lith. kiršùs 'bilious, jaundiced'. The Albanian form ngrythë 'withered' is in zero-grade; the Lith. form karšē 'decrepitude' is in o-grade. IE $^{+}$kr̥ḱ-. A possible variant, $^{+}$kr̥s-,arises in Skt. kṛṣáḥ : LLat. correō 'wrinkle' : ON horr 'starvation'; krue,kroni,kroi, T krua 'spring, source', cf. Gk. krḗnē, Doric krā́nā,id. ; lî,ni, T li,ri 'linen, flax' : Gk. linon: Lat. līnum : Lith. linai : OCS lĭnŭ,etc. IE $^{+}$linom ; limâ, ni, T liman 'harbour' ,fr. Doric form of Gk. limḗn,id.; limue, limoni 'lemon' from Medieval Lat. limō,nis; liqê,ni, T liqér and lëqér 'lake' , apparently from a type^{+}lacō,nis, der. of lacus 'lake', cf. It. lagone ; ltî,ni 'Italian, Roman Catholic', from latinus ; luâ,ni, T luan 'lion', from a Doric type $^{+}$lewōn, cf. Gk.léōn ; mullâ,ni, T mëllḗ ,ri 'tumour' : Skt. mūrdhán 'head, forehead, top,peak': Av. -mərəδō,id. : LLat. mallō,nis 'tumour, bundle, flower-head':MIr.mullán 'hillock': OE molda, molde, gs. -an 'crown of head'. IE $^{+}$ml̥dhō̆n-;

Mullî,ni, T mullí,ri 'mill', fr. Lat. molinus ; murlâ, murrâ,ni'gale', of uncertain origin; nye, gs. nêni 'knot, node, joint; item'; prrue, -oi, oni, T përrua 'rapid, stream', cf. Blg. porój,id. (probably a Slavonic LW in Albanian); patkue, patkoni, patkoi, T patkua 'horseshoe' (fr.Sl. podkova,id.); pê,ni, T pë,ri 'thread', uncertainly if IE (cf. Ger.Faden,OHG fadam 'thread', and Wel. edaf,id. fr. +potəm-,+petəm) or a LW,cf. Gk.pénē, Doric -ā- 'thread on shuttle,etc.'; Hes. pēnos 'web' (speculations : Lat. pannus WH and EM); rosâ,ni 'drake' beside rosë,f. 'duck', cf. Srb. raca 'duck', of uncertain origin, but both indicate a prototype +rāti̯o-, +rāti̯ə; rrâ,ni 'lees' (Geg) ; shalqî,ni, T shalqí,ri 'watermelon', fr.Tk. sarkî 'eastern' (?)(according to G.Meyer); shkarpî,ni 'scorpion'(Kr.Elb.) from Lat. scorpionem ; shpâ,ni 'lime, tartar'; shullâ,ni, T shullë́ ,ri,, 'sunny patch' ,fr. Lat. solānum ; timue, oni,oi, T timon 'rudder', from Latin tēmō,ōnis; trû,ni, T tru,ri 'brain', often in pl. tru-të; tû, tûni 'back edge of knife'; turî,ni, T turí,ri 'snout'; thue, thua, thoni,thoi 'nail (of finger or toe; hoof'); û, def. ûni, T urí, def. uria 'hunger', cf. Lith. ugnis 'fire'; ullî,ni, T ullí,ri 'olive, olive-oil',fr. Greek +olaíon (unrecorded thus, but cf. elaía 'olive'); vardue, oni 'greenfinch' from Lat. +viridōnem ; vargue,oni 'chain, esp. of pothook', an extended form of varg 'chain, line, series' : Gk. órkhos ; verrî,ni, T verrí, ri, an extended form of verr 'alder' : Gaul. verno-,id.; zâ,ni, T zë,ri, m. 'voice, sound' ; cf. Lat. honos 'honour, glory': Pol. dzwon 'bell', etc. IE +ĝu̯hon-; vargâ,ni, T vargëŕ 'ram for breeding', fr. Gk. órganon ; zgjue, zgjoni, zgjoi; T zgjua 'beehive'.

The period of apocopated nouns of this type extends to the Slavonic , but barely to the Turkish invasions (the provenience of shalqî is doubtful). The word zakon 'custom' is, though Slavonic, unaffected by apocopation, and the practice seems to have ceased earlier in Tosk than in Geg, cf. Tosk liman, limon,etc. An unexplained plural of ujk 'wolf' occurs in Buzuk, viz. ujkën-it.

Iotacized plurals of nouns in -ll

Words of this type are masculine, and consist of native terms and loanwords. An example of this is the LW pópull 'people, pl. pópuj, and the inherited term múgull 'shoot, sprout', pl. múguj : Dacian substrate in Rum. múgur,id. : Ir. mógall 'apple of eye, globe, husk, bunch, tuft': W mŵl 'lump': Du. mokkel 'plump person: Lith. mugulis 'clumsy person':Fin. LW mukula, mukura 'lump, gnurl' : Est. LW mugulas,id.: Marian (Cheremis) LW múgulio, múkle 'hump, lump'. IE $^+$mugulos. A variant occurs in Skt. mukulaḥ, mukulam,m.n. 'bud'. The "palatalism" of the plural, resulting in iotacism to -j-, appears to be due to a form of the nom.sing. as seen in Lat. populī (hence Alb. pópuj), caballī (hence Alb. kuaj). Several masculine nouns in -ll however display a plural form in -je; this is due to a collective, rather than a strictly plural, alternant to the singular in -ll.

dell, pl. deje 'vein' (pl. also dej and deja) , of uncertain derivation, cf. either Gk. théō 'flow' or khéō 'pour'; grúmbull,pl.grúmbuj 'mass , pile' : Ger. cf. Krumpel, Krümpel 'ruck, crease'(LG : Eng. crumple):Latv. grumbulis 'knoll, knob, hump' ; hell,pl. hej 'spit, skewer, awl, sting': Oss. ḱala (2) 'branch' : Gk. skōlos,on 'thorn, stake, mattock':OCS skala 'rock'. IE $^+$skōlos,ā 'spike, point' ; huall, pl. hoje 'honeycomb', beside hoj, hojë,id. This Tosk form apparently derives from an IE prototype $^+$skēl- 'division', cf. Per. sikāl 'thought' : Arm. xil 'inquiry' : Alb. i hollë, adj. 'fine, shrewd' : Br. skīl- in cpds. 'partly-': OIcel. skál- 'separate' (in skál-hús 'privy') beside skáli 'hut, shed, room' : Latv. šķēle 'slice'; hyll, pl. hyje, hyj, also yll, pl. yje, yj 'star' , of uncertain origin; pyll, pl. pyje 'wood, forest': Rum. pădure,f. id.fr. Lat. paludem 'marsh' (!) ; truell, T truall, def. trolli, pl. troje beside trolle, from Lat. trabāle, pl. fr. trabālia.

a.Nouns of type vendës

Nouns of this type are derived partly from nouns, partly from verbs, the former indicating association, the latter, agency. Thus vendës, pl.id.is a masculine noun with the definite plural in -it (vendësit). The sense of 'inhabitant' derives from vend, pl.-e,m. 'place, country'; for the etymology, see page 80. From the verbs lidh 'bind', pjek 'bake' are derived respectively lidhës 'binder' and pjekës 'baker', the formation being identical with that of vendës.

The question of the origin of this form is unsettled. A plausible explanation comes from reference to several personal names in Illyrian, where, however, the oblique inflections of Latin or Greek may have been substituted for native ones. Such a name is Dasas, -antis, Dases,-entis, and Dazas,-antis, a male name in which s/z probably represent a pronunciation *ś* (a palatalized s), and the second vowel an intermediate phoneme *ə*. This equates with Albanian (at least formally) *dashës* 'lover,enthusiast, -philos', especially as the radical has many other forms similarly equatable with Albanian, such as Dasimos, Dazimos (cf. Albanian *i dashëm* 'beloved') as well as Dasmenus, Dazomenus (cf. Alb. *i dashun*,adj. 'beloved'). The radical recurs in the Messapian inscriptions. A similar formation is Illyrian Beusas, Beuzas, -antis, and others listed by Krahe in Lexikon Altillyrischer Personennamen, 1929, p. 146,8, and in the glossary.

The suggestion is , therefore, that Albanian nouns in *-ës* derive from prototypes representing the IE active participle, a consonantal formation found in Skt. bharan, n. bharat, oblique bharant-: Gk. phérōn, n. phéron, oblique phéront- : Lat. ferens,etc.

b. Archaic Neuters in -os/-es-

Relics of this declension occur in *gjalp* 'butter', now relegated to the "elemental" type, especially when used as a neuter noun (*gjalpë-t* beside *gjalp-i*,m.). Its cognates are Skt. sarpís 'clarified butter': Gk.Cypriot hélpos,-eos 'butter' : Tokh. şäljp, şaljpe 'oil, fat'. IE (Gk.type)$^{+}$selpos, -esos; *vit*, N *vjetë*,pl. *vjetë* (m. in Tosk, f. in N Geg) 'year':Hitt. wetasas (queried)'annual festival' beside wetanc 'year'; weti,adv. 'in a year' : Alb. *vjet* 'last year': Gk. étos, -eos 'year'. IE^{+}u̯etos,-eso-.The Albanian vocalism derives from an oblique form $^{+}$u̯étes- where the stressed vowel of two consecutive *e*'s is converted to *-i-*. Cf. the Slavonic LW *bisedë* 'conversation', from^{+}béséda, cf. Srb. bésjeda, contrast Albanian *jemi* 'we are', from $^{+}$esmés, cf. Gk. esmén, Dor. eimés.The same vocalism is preserved in *viç* 'calf', lit. 'yearling'; cf. Skt. vatsáḥ, id. beside Oss. wäs,id. : Lat. vetus, -eris 'old' : Ir. féis, OBr. guis, MBr. gwés : Cor. gwis 'pig, sow': OE weðer, OIcel. veðr 'wether , ram' : OCS vetŭxŭ 'old': Cz. veteš 'junk': OLith. vetušas, Li. večias,aj. 'old': Latv. vecs,id.: Gk. éteios 'year-old; s. yearling'. IE^{+}u̯etesi̯os , with variant $^{+}$u̯etsi̯os, and even $^{+}$u̯etso- in Skt. tri-vatsaḥ 'year'. The background of *cen* 'defect, vice, harm' beside *cenë*,f.'diligence,effort ' is uncertain both as to etymology and type. If it represents an IE root $^{+}$qu̯en-, cf. Gk. pénomai 'struggle, toil' ; peĩna 'eagerness, hunger' beside penía 'need', and o-grade pónos 'toil' (LW in Alb. punë 'work');cf. Lat. cōnor, ārī 'strive' (fr. $^{+}$qu̯ĕnī-); R ò-čenĭ 'very': Latv.cf.censties 'strive'; censība 'effort'.

c.Typological Neuters

These forms fall into two categories: (1) liquids and foods; (2) parts of the body. Most have alternative (masculine or feminine) usage. The suffixed article is -t: djathë 'cheese',cf. OHG gësan 'ferment'; drithë 'wheat', cf. OE grīst 'grinding', but see Kluge: Gerste; mjaltë 'honey': Hitt. melit: Gk. méli,etc. ; dhallë 'buttermilk' : Rum. substr. zară,id.; Gk. gála, gs. gálaktos 'milk': Lat. lac, lactis,id.; dhjamë 'fat,suet' , from a Greek source, cf. Gk. dēmós,id.; gjalpë 'butter': Gk. hélpos,etc.; mish 'meat, flesh': OCS męso,etc. ; ujë 'water'. For ballë 'forehead' , cf. Hes. phála 'small head', Gk. phál-agx, -aggos 'phalanx'; hundë'nose'; shalë '(open) legs',cf. Gk. psális ; trû 'brain'.

d. Anomalous Nouns:m.

The chief anomalies occur in the plural stems of certain nouns in relation to the singular. Occasionally the reason for these anomalies is obscure. Of the masculine nouns the following have unusual formations: i ati, acc. t'an, g.d. t'et and t'atit,'father', a word without a clear distinction between definite and indefinite. The plural is etën, t'etën, (T etër), beside atën (Elb.), def. etnat,etënt, and (Elb.) atnat, Tosk etërit, atërit (Tosk NT, Rom. 9.5): Gk. átta (with infantine doubling of consonant),id.; bir, pl. bij 'son' ; brî,ni, pl. brîna 'horn'; djalë,pl. djelm and djem 'boy, youth'; kalë, pl. kuaj, kual 'horse', fr. Lat. caballus, pl. caballī ; lépur, pl. lépuj 'hare',fr. Lat. lepus,-oris;lumë, pl. lumenj 'river'(LW from flumen or inherited,cf. Gk.lũma); njerí, pl. njerëz,-it 'man, person, homo',cf. the Latin name Nerō,ōnis, said to be Sabine for 'man', beside f. Neria, Neriene. The plural suggests a former collective of type^{+}-idi̯ə, cf. Gk. téknon: teknídia ; nye, nêni,pl. neje 'knot, clause, item, junction'; qingj, pl. shqerra 'lamb' ; sy,ni,pl. sy (T sy,ri,pl.sy)'eye', an aphetic form of^{+}(o)qu̯i̯ō, -ōn-, cf. Gk.osse,'the two eyes'; shkâmb, T shkëmp, pl. shkëmbinj, beside shqembe 'rock'(a Macedonian word?); shkop, pl. shkopinj, shqep, shqepinj 'stick', a "Doricism" cf. Gk. skḗpōn 'stick', Dor. (Hes.) skãpos 'branch': Lat. scāpus'stick'; shpênd 'fowl', pl. shpêndë and shpêzë (T shpezë & shpesë), with the alternative shpesh, a collective meaning 'birdlife, wildfowl'. The word is a doubtful derivative of Latin penna 'feather', with a prefix; shuell, T shuall, pl. shuej, shuaj and shoje 'sole of the foot', fr. Lat. solum,of which the plural form, shoje, reflects Lat. solea, cf. It. soglia,soglio, Fr. seuil; truell, T truall, pl. truej, trolle and troje 'floor',LW, the last form reflecting Latin trabālia.Similarly kapruell, but see below.

Two nouns with apocopated nasals: frê, def. frêni, T frë,ri 'brake , rein' and zâ,ni, T zë,ri 'voice, sound' form their plural in -na, T -ra. The first derives from Lat. frēnum, the second from an IE type $^{+}$ĝṷhon- , cf. Skt. jhaṇāmi 'sound': OPer. hazāna- 'tongue': Av. hizva, and hizu,gs. hizvãh-,id. : Per. hazvān, zabān 'tongue, speech': Arm.dzajn 'voice'(fr. $^{+}$ĝṷhonis) beside dzoni 'consecrated' : Lat. honōs 'honour' : OCS zvonŭ 'sound, bell': Latv. zvans 'bell'. The plural suggests a collective origin. The form vjet 'years', plural of vit, indicates the loss of the second $^{+}$-e-in the plural represented by IE $^{+}$ṷetesə (see page 96: **Archaic Neuters**).

The usual formation of the plural of nouns in -ll has been indicated on pages 94-5. Kapruell, T kapruall 'roebuck' has, however, the plural formations kaprej and kaproj, from Latin capreolus, capreolī; frashuell, T frashuall, pl. frashoj 'broad bean', from Latin phaseolus,ī. The loanword qen 'dog', from Latin canis, forms its plural qej, qenë and qena, a diversity indicating the precedence of typology over historical grammar.

e.Anomalous Nouns: f.

dele 'sheep'; pl. dhenë are forms of diverse origin. The first form indicates an IE root $^{+}$dhel- (with short $^{+}$-e-) as in MIr. dile,dele 'fondness', del, dela 'teat', cf. del fola 'leech': OHG tili 'teat': OE delu, id. With a long $^{+}$-ē- (IE $^{+}$dhēl-) cf. Oss. dalis 'lamb' : Gk. thēlḗ'nipple, teat, female' : OIcel. dæla 'suction pump' : Lith. dėlē 'leech',cf. pirma-dēlē 'mother of first-born', pirma-dēlys 'firstborn animal': Latv. dēls 'son', dēle 'leech'. The plural dhen, beside dhênë, T dhënë, archaic dhendë (Buz.) seems to represent a formula $^{+}$ĝent- as seen in Skt. jantúḥ 'child, being, race': Av. zañtus ;cf. Per. far-zand 'child' (fr. IE $^{+}$pr̥o-ĝentos) : OIr. gent 'race': Lat. gens, gentis,id.: Go. kind-, s. 'tribe' : OHG.OS kind, kint : OIcel. kind 'kind, race, being'; Mod.Icel. kind, pl.-ur 'sheep'.

The forms *derë*, pl. *dyer* 'door' represent by their vocalism a prototype +dhṷer- as in Lat. acc. forās (for Lat. -o- from +-ṷe-, cf. sonus & sodālis), cf. OCS dvĭrĭ,beside dvorŭ 'yard'. The forms *dorë*, pl. *duer*,T *duar* 'hand' represents a formula +ĝhēr- as against Arm. dzeřn and Gk.acc. khéra, both with IE +-e-. The forms *grue*, T *grua*, pl. *gra* 'woman' representa formula +grāṷ-, pl. +grau- as in Gk. grēus 'old woman', acc.plural graũs. The word *kue*, *kua* 'crust' has beside a masculine definite form *koi*, *koni* a feminine form *kueja*, *kuaja*, which , with its plural forms *kore*, and *korë* suggests a complex origin, possibly Slavonic kora,influenced by internal factors not present in the prototype. The word *vajzë* 'maiden' has a Northern dialect plural *varza*, a form that may give a clue as to its ultimate origin.

f. The anomalous neuter : *krye*

Krye, def. *kryet* 'head' has feminine declension: *kreje* 'of,to head', beside the definite form *kresë* 'of, to the head'. The plural is *krena*, T *krera* beside *krenë*, *krerë*. A variant definite form in the singular is kreu. The prototype is +k̂r̥̄nii̭om (with inhibited +k̂ before +r), cf. Greek krāníon 'skull, head'; the plural corresponds to Hes. krána 'head', from a type +k̂r̥̄nə (for long zero-grade > Albanian -*re*- cf. a probable +r̥̄ >-*re*- in *qenë* 'been' , *drekë* 'lunch', beside the Slav loanwords *treg* 'market', cf. Srb. tȓg, and *kreshnik* 'hero', cf. OCS krŭstĭnikŭ 'for baptism,godfather, favourite').

g. Masculine nouns containing -*eth*,*the*-

These monosyllabic nouns convert internal -e- to -a- in the plural. The reason for this is not clear: *rreth*, pl. *rrathë* 'hoop, circle', cf. Gk. Myc. rhoikós 'bent, crooked': Lat. urūca, erūca 'canker-worm': Ir.fraoch 'heather' : Gaul. vroica,id. : W grug,id. : Cz. vřes, Srb. vrijes,id.:Li. raišas 'lame, bandy-legged'. IE +ṷroik̂o- 'bent, curved'; *veth*,pl. *vathë* 'earring', from a type +ăusdho- (or +ăusdo-); *thek*, pl. *thakë* 'fringe' ; *thes*,pl. *thasë* bag, sack'.

History of the Noun Inflections

Little remains of the Indo-European inflections as they appear in Sanskrit, Hittite, Greek, Latin, Slavonic and Lithuanian, where they are well preserved.

In general the nominative and accusative singular masculine is represented by a zero inflection, the word consisting of the bare root, whereas the feminine is represented by a final mute -ë (pronounced in the S. regions near the Greek border as (ə)), a phoneme which is suppressed in barytonic disyllables (pupël,f. 'down-feather', badhër 'narcissus'). Mute -ë also occurs finally in a few masculine and neuter nouns; when this occurs, the reason is usually compensatory lengthening for loss of an internal consonant or vowel (kalë 'horse' ,from caballus; mjaltë 'honey' , from $^{+}$melit, cf. Gk. méli, Hittite melit).

The oblique cases are the genitive and dative, which are alike both in singular and plural, all genders. The masculine inflection, like the neuter, is uniformly -i in the singular, but -u after velars (k,g and h) except in the Northern dialects, where the inflection -i occurs frequently after -h-. The difference is purely phonological, not historical.The dative has been extended from the genitive, (cf.Modern Greek,but by syncretism). An ablative singular and plural occurs after certain prepositions, and alone in adverbial usages, to denote quality, consistency , or composition. It does not occur (except historically in Buzuk)with the definite postpositive article. The feminine singular, irrespective of origin, has the oblique (genitive and dative) ending -e. The oblique ending of the plural is -ve in all genders. The diathematic stem , i.e. the stem linking the root to the ending -ve in the gen. and dat. plural, is of typological rather than historical origin (see the preceding pages) . As a plural-sign it stands alone in the nom. and acc. plural, but zero-, or root, inflection (as in English sheep, deer) is indicated by -ë, a purely scribal distinction, though some speakers lengthen the internal vowel. Thus Shqiptar 'Albanian', Shqiptarë 'Albanians' have identical pronunciation.

For -i in dhâmbi (dhëmbi)"of,to tooth'; vendi 'of,to place'; ûni 'of, to hunger' (nom.acc. û), cf. Skt. agneḥ : Osc. -eís (in medíkeís 'of a magistrate'): OCS gosti : Lith. ugniẽs. The inflection of dhâmb 'tooth', historically an o-stem, seems to derive from the i-stems, since it cannot easily be equated with the -ī of Latin murī, Gaulish -māri,etc.

For -u in ehu 'of, to cutting-edge', cf. formally, Skt. āsoḥ :Avestan āsao- : Gk. ōké(w)os 'of sharp'; cf. further Hitt. assuas 'of good':Osc. castrous 'of farm': Lat. portūs : Goth. sunaus : OCS synu : Lith.sūnaus.

For -e in are 'of,to field' (see page 60) the pattern is that of Lat. mensae (familiās), Gk.-ējs, from IE $^+$-āi̭s, becoming Albanian$^+$-ai, then -e. This form set the pattern for all other feminine stems, irrespective of origin, thus dere 'of door', dore 'of hand', also 'to door, to hand', by extension as with the masculines, drite 'of, to light',etc.

The uniform ending of the genitive and dative plural derives from a prototype as seen in Gk. ōkḗ(w)ōn : OLat. manuom, Lat. portuum :OCS synovŭ,cf. also the Hittite gen.pl. assuwas and Goth. suniwē. A possible reconstruction of Albanian -ve (cf. vendeve 'of, to places') is$^+$-(e)ṷō.As in modern Lusatian (Wendish), the u-stem inflection has become generalized to all stems, regardless of gender.

The one remaining case is the ablative. This occurs only in the indefinite form, and has the form of the genitive-dative singular in most dialects, but in the dialects of the extreme north it ends in -t. For this reason it is thought to be equatable with Skt. -t in devāt 'from a god', yugāt 'from a yoke', tāt 'from that', Vedic sanā́t 'from ancient times', paśčā́t 'from behind'; Hitt. -c (-ts) in nepisac (nebisats) 'from heaven'; OLat. dōnōd (:Skt. dānāt), Lat. sed 'but' ; Osc. amvíanud 'from street-corner'; Gk. pōs,kōs 'somehow'; hōs 'as'; tōs 'thus', hamōs'somehow' ($^+$sm̥-ōt); cf. Lith. anot 'according to' ($^+$onāt), vienas vienat 'one only'. Albanian examples are véndit 'from the spot', shqímit 'utterly' (shqim 'destruction'),moti, mótit 'of yore' (mot,m.page 79), mir-fílli(t) 'straight, direct' (fill,obs.'point', cf. Buzuk: ën fillit së shpatëvet, 'at sword-point'), doret 'by hand' (duer, duar 'hand',page 86), fáre(t), adv. 'quite' , nérgu(t) 'specially, deliberately', së paku 'at least',etc. See also below: Derived adverbs. Pronouns (q.v.) display independent forms.

The mainly adverbial usage of the ablative singular is reflected in the plural, whose inflection, -sh, is added to the root, or to the diathematic vowel, in the same way as the genitive-dative -ve. The inflection is equatable with the ending -ṣu in Skt. triṣu: Gk. trisí, tríssi , khersí (a syncretized dative, but with adverbial function) 'by the hands; possí 'on foot', thúrāsi 'out of doors', etc.; Lith. kadai-si 'formerly'; MIr. anoi-si beside ano-s 'now'; MHG sus, Du. zus 'so' beside OE þus: Du. dus, id. Albanian examples are (*tre*) *vjetsh*'(three)years old', -*fish* (related to *fill*, *fije* 'thread') in *trefish* 'threefold', etc., *dysh* 'in two', *trish* 'in three', etc.

A residual locative in -*t* occurs in Kristoforidhi's Bible translation in the Tosk dialect, and sporadically in Buzuk's Litany of 1555. Thus Kristoforidhi: *nd'atë udhët* 'in that road' , *ndë shtëpít të Judhës* 'in the house of Judas', *ndë qytett* 'in the city', *ndë kopështt* 'in the garden', *mbë tokët* 'on, on to the ground', etc. Buzuk has *për fillt të shpatës* 'at sword-point'. It survives as an adverb *krejt* 'quite, in toto', fr. *krye*, gen.dat. *kreje*, abl.*kréjet* (in the phrase *hedh mbas kréjet*'reject') The locative sense is preserved by Budi (1566-1623) in some instances. A transfer from ablative to locative in the plural of some stock phrases , such as *për shkallësh* 'via the stairs' seems to indicate a confusion of the two cases at an early date. For a discussion of the ending -*je* in *tútje* 'henceforth', *nádje* 'in the morning', *atjé* 'there', etc. see under *Adverb* (page 196).

The Connecting Particle and the Definite Article

The connecting particle, linking a noun with a following genitive or adjective, shares a number of features with the postpositive definite article. Both reflect IE demonstrative pronouns; the first with analogies in Hellenistic Greek and Vulgate Latin, the second with analogies in Rumanian and Bulgarian.

After an indefinite masculine noun the particle is *i*, *të*, *të*, *të* in the singular, and *të* throughout the plural. The ablative is never preceded by a particle in modern Albanian.

After a definite masculine noun the particle is *i*, *e*,*të*,*të* in the singular, and *e*, *e*, *të*, *të* in the plural.

After an indefinite feminine noun the particle is *e*, *të*, *të*, *të* in the singular, and *të* throughout the plural.

After a definite feminine noun the particle is *e*, *e*, *së*, *së* (also *e* , *e*, *të*, *të* in some dialects), and e, e, të, të (like the masculine) in the plural.

The few neuter forms behave like the masculine forms, but with *të* for *i* in the nominative/accusative singular when it occurs in the indefinite form, and with *e* (like the feminines) when the preceding noun is definite. Predicatively, the particle following a neuter noun is *i*.

The particle, like the weak redundant pronoun associated with it, has antecedents in late Greek and Latin, cf. Hellenistic ho logos ho emós : Vulgate:sermō ille meus 'my word' (cf. Possessive Adjectives infra).Since the accusative of the Greek form is tòn lógon tòn emón, and the dative (en) tõj lógõj tõj emõj, the identity of the oblique Albanian *të* is assured. The nominative forms (nom. and acc. after the definite nouns as given above) cannot, however, be linked with the Greek article ho, but rather to Latin *is*, f. *ea*, acc. *eum*, *eam* : Lithuanian *jis*,*ji* : and the OCS fragment *j*, *ja*,etc. The particle is thus seen as a "redundant" repetition of the postpositive article.

The striking similarity between the Albanian article-particle formula and that of Rumanian has led some scholars to believe in a substrate theory that would ascribe to Albanian-Illyrian a common origin with the displaced Dacian or Daco-Thracian now overlaid with Rumanian, a Latin language, resulting in calques, or literal translations, imposed on the conquerors by the conquered. The pros and cons of the substrate theory are discussed in Linguistique Balkanique, by Kr. Sandfeld,1930, and most recently, by Jani Thomaj and Xhevat Lloshi in Studia Albanica,2,1966,pp. 161-174. In the former work comparative examples are given from Rumanian and Albanian on page 134, cf. especially the archaic Rumanian formula pămîntul al grăului, in which the postpositive article (Lat.illu-) is reflected in the particle al. A full discussion, with speculations, is given on pages 165-171.

Parallels from the New Testament illustrate the postpositive article followed by the redundant particle as they appear in Vulgate Latin, Rumanian and Albanian.

1. With a following genitive:

Latin: sermō ille Dei

Rumanian: cuvînt-ul lui Dumnezeu

Albanian: fjal-a e Perëndisë

2. With a following adjective:

Latin: homō ille bonus ; in platea urbis illius magnae ; vitulum illum saginatum.

Rumanian: om-ul cel bun ; în uliţa cetăţei celei mari ; viţel-ul cel îngrăşat.

Albanian: burr-i i mirë ; në rrugë-n e qytet-it të madh ; viç-in e ushqyem (T ... e ushqyer).

One Albanian phrase consists entirely of Latin loanwords:

kal-i i bujku-t të mirë : $^{+}$caballus bubulcī illius mīrī

The postpositive article, unlike the "redundant" connecting particle, has a wide European distribution, and is found in Bulgarian, the Scandinavian languages, and Basque (gizon-a 'man', eche-a 'house', ogi-a 'bread').

The singular forms are:

masculine: -i, -in, -t, -t after consonants other than velars.
-u, -un, -t, -t after velars (k,g,h) and finally stressed -í, as in barí, g.d.s. baríu 'shepherd'.

feminine: -a, -n, -s, -s (the nom.sing. -a replacing the mute ë).

neuter: -t, -t, -t, -t.

The plural forms are not differentiated as to gender; -t is added to all inflections except the ablative. Zero-plurals are written with "euphonic" ë, e.g. Shqiptarë 'Albanians', Shqiptarët 'the Albanians'. Nouns whose plural ends in -ën, -ër or-ës, -ëz add -it to form the definite nominative and accusative. The vowel of -it seems to represent a residual inflection of type $^{+}$ai, $^{+}$oi or $^{+}$es.

THE ADJECTIVE

Adjectives are of four main types: (1) those preceded by the connecting particle, whether attributive or predicative. They are invariable except for the ending -a when qualifying a noun which is feminine plural. They are represented by (a) simple radicals, (b) radicals in -t corresponding to verbal adjectives in Greek(-tós),and in OCS -tŭ, Lithuanian -tas,Latin -tus, Skt. -taḥ, (c) verbal adjectives extended in usage from identical past participles in -un, Tosk -ur (thought to derive from a prototype in $^{+}$-mñ̥os, cf. Gk. -menos, Lat. -mnus in al-umnus, and, for the phonology,cf. mund 'defeat ; am able' : Gk. manthánō 'learn' (fr. $^{+}$mñ̥dh-) ;shtrungë,f. 'milking-place': (substrate word in) Rum. strungă,id.: Gk. strágx,straggós'trickle', straggízō 'squeeze out'; llumb, llum 'sediment':Gk. lámpē, f. 'scum'). The reduced form of the participle is also represented in Gk. bélemnon 'dart' according to Chantraine (Morph. hist. du grec,p.338);(2) those ending in ëm which is an extension, or part of an extension, but not part of the radical. These are preceded by the connecting particle, but subject to a change from -ëm to-me in all forms of the feminine.This type of adjective includes those derived from the past participles of verbs with an open radical, or with a diathematic vowel, which have undergone apocope of the extension from -mun to -më, - m in Geg (the rule does not apply to Tosk verbs of this category, all of which have the p.p. in -r, and are treated like adjectives of class 1). Thus pi (open radical) 'I drink' archaic pp. pímunë, later pimë, now pi, verbal adjective: i pimë, f. e pime, m.pl. të pimë, fpl.të pime; laj (diathematic vowel-a-) 'I wash', archaic pp. lámunë, later lamë, now la, verbal adjective i lamë, f. e lame, mpl. të lamë, fpl. të lame,etc. To this class belong a small number of adjectives of superlative origin, like i mesëm, f. e mesme'midmost', from a type $^{+}$medhi̯əmo-, cf. Skt. madhyamaḥ : Av. maðəmō : Osset. mídämä,adv.'inward': Gk. méson 'between' : Osc. messimass,f.pl.'midmost': Go. miduma : OHG mittamo, mëtemo : OE medeme, meodume : OIcel. mjóðm,pl. mjað̆mir 'waist'. Cf. also i ndërmjemë, f. e ndërmjeme 'medial, medium'(N) from a type $^{+}$enter-medhi̯əmo-. Similarly *i pasëm* 'rear, subsequent', f. *e pasme*, from a type $^{+}$poti̯əmo-, cf. Doric potí 'toward': Av. paiti: Per. pas : Alb. *pas* 'after', beside *mbas*,id. (fr. $^{+}$en-poti). This category of adjective includes a large number of "potential adjectives" in -*shëm*, f: -*shme* such as *i pishëm*, f. *e pishme* 'drinkable', formed from the truncated form of the infinitive/participle. The productive fragment -*shëm* is without parallel except perhaps in Latin -simus, -issimus. For speculations on this see Sommer: Handbuch der Lat. Laut. ŭ. Formenlehre,pp.459, 460. (Perhaps a double superlative like the archaic dialectal mostest) ; (3) adjectives derived from nouns or other adjectives of a primary nature. These have a large variety of extensions: -*ak*, -*as*, -*ash*, -*an*, -*ok*, -*osh*, -*anik*, -*ar*, -*or* (Geg:-*uer*,f. -*ore*), -*tar*, -*tor* (Geg:-*tuer*,f.-*tore*), -*ës*,-*ac*, -*eç*,etc. (many of pejorative or jocular sense, those in -*tar* & -*tor* indicating trades or professions). Here belong also the ablatives in -sh when used as adjectives (*dysh* 'twofold', *trish* 'threefold',etc.)They differ from the foregoing (type 2) in that they are used without the particle. Loanwords in -*ak* and -*ik* (*politik*, *fizik*,etc.) also belong here. Adjectives in -ës and -*as* are frequently used as nouns, and denote inhabitants (*vendës*, *véndas*, pl. id., def: *véndësit*, *véndasit*'inhabitant'; *Elbasánas* 'inhabitant of Elbasan',etc.), or (especially when derived fr. verbal stems) doers of the act denoted in the root, such as *pjekës* 'baker', from *pjek* 'I bake'. This form seems to have an antecedent in Illyrian names like Dases, oblique: Dasent- and Dasant-, cf. Alb. *dashës*, f. *dashëse* 'lover, amateur', from a type $^{+}$dhousi̯ənt-, and Beusas, oblique: Beusant-, Beuzant-, from a type $^{+}$bheusi̯ənt-. Hypocoristic forms occasionally have antecedents in Illyrian, cf. *djelmoç* 'lad' (Illyr.Dalmatius & Delmatius), beside *djelmosh*,id. (Illyr. Dalmasius). The adjectives of this type can usually be employed as nouns; (4) compound adjectives are normally uninflected, thus *fjalë-gjatë* 'longwinded', *dorë-thatë* 'stingy', composed respectively of *fjalë* 'word', *i gjatë* 'long', *dorë* 'hand', and *i thatë* 'dry', are invariable and without the particle. Adjectives that are placed before the nouns they qualify (for emotive emphasis as French usage) take over the inflection of the noun, the latter being uninflected (*i shkreti gomar* 'the poor donkey', *të shkretin gomar*,acc.,etc.). Adverbs in -*isht* (*italísht* 'Italian-fashion') are of type (3) when used as adjectives (gjuha italishte 'the Italian language').

The etymological background of the adjective

Type 1.

Adjectives of this type include loanwords from Greek and Latin, rarely from Slavonic, and from Turkish only by extension with the suffix -të(as in qelibar 'amber', i qelibartë, i qelibarët 'of amber'). Usage is not yet settled with regard to the spelling of such extended adjectives,thus i ulët, i ultë 'low', i imët, i imtë 'minute'.

i blerë 'green': OLat.flōrus 'fresh,thriving' (E.Çabej,but cf. Lat. flōs 'flower' +bhlōs-): Gael. blār 'white-blazed' : W blawr 'hoary':ME blēre 'dim, clouded' (cf. E blear-eyed). IE +bhlōros. The ME form is ambiguous in view of Icel. blóra 'secretly', blórar,mpl. 'secrets' (lit.'darkness'?).

i dobë, i dobët 'weak ; rough, uncultivated': Skt. dābhaḥ 'injurious' ; -dābhyaḥ 'frivolous, trivial' (only in neg. a- — 'serious'): Sw.dof,adj. 'sultry, blunt, stupid'; cf. Go. af-dōbnan 'grow numb'; cf. -ă- in OE dæfte 'meek, mild' IE +dhābh-, +dhābhto-.

i gjallë 'alive, lively': : Skt. sárvaḥ 'whole': Av. haurvō,id.: OPersian haruva-,id.: Per. har: Tokh. A salu : Gk. hólos, oũlos : Osc. sullus, LW in Lat. sollus (?) , but cf. Lat. sōll-emnis, -ennis 'annual', sōllers, -ertis (cpd. of ars, artis) 'clever'. IE+solu̯os.

i gjorë 'miserable, wretched'. Of ambiguous origin. If from a prototype +ghēr-,cf. Gk. khēros 'deprived, forsaken, widowed' (speculations in Hof. and Bois.). If from a type+sēros cf. sāraḥ 'repellant, destructive':Lat. sērus 'late, backward, tiresome, sad' : OIr. sír, Ir. síor 'long, extensive' : OBr. Br. W hir 'long' : Corn. hir 'long, tedious': Latv. sērs 'sad'. The second solution is preferable, since in the form kohë 'time': OCS časŭ,id.(from +qu̯ēs-) there is no palatalization before +-ē-.

i huej, T i huaj 'strange, foreign' derives ambiguously from an IE type +skaiu̯os or +skaui̯os, cf. Per. šūx 'wanton':Oss.xiw'straddle-legged': Gk. skaiós 'lefthanded, awkward, stupid, unlucky, crooked' : Lat.scaevus, as Gk.: cf. W ysgoewan 'fickle person'. Cf. also të-huej (Geg only) 'alienate', from a type+at(i)-skaiu̯ō or+-skaui̯ō : EMDu. schouwen 'avoid'.

i hollë 'thin, fine'. From a type+skēlos (or +sk̂-, sk̂h-), with a general sense of 'division, separation',cf. Per. sikāl 'thought' : Arm. xil 'inquiry' : Br. skīl-, cpds. 'partly-': OIcel. skáli 'shed, room',cpd.skál-

'separate-': Fris. skiel 'peg used in net-making': Latv. sķēle 'slice' . Tosk has a related form *huall*, pl. *hoje* (used in Geg as a singular) in the sense of 'honeycomb', lit. 'division', and there is a Geg verb *të-huell*, T *të-holl* 'roll out (pastry)', from $^{+}$at(i)-skēlō.

i kotë 'useless, vain'; adv. *kot* 'in vain' ; *kótem* 'drowse, idle, be useless': Hes. tḗtē 'lack': Gk. tētáō (:Alb. *kotoj*) 'deprive', IE $^{+}$qu̯āt- . (Bois. and Hof. untenable). With short $^{+}$-a- cf. Lith. katù,éti 'dwindle, wither': W paid 'cessation' (fr. $^{+}$qu̯atis).

i lig, mpl. *të ligj* 'sick, ill; evil' : Lith. ligà, Latv. liga 'sickness, disease'. 0-grade in Gk. loigós 'plague, evil, death': OE lāc 'strife , sacrifice': MHG ge-leich 'misfortune, reverse' : Lith. pã-liegis'invalid' beside liegti 'lie seriously ill'. IE $^{+}$lig-,($^{+}$loig-).

i marrë 'mad, silly': Hitt. marsas 'bad, corrupt': OE mearr 'evil,deceptive' ; cf. Go. marzjan 'scandalize' : OE mearrian 'err', mierran 'waste, destroy'. IE $^{+}$mars-, but $^{+}$mors- also possible.

i njomë 'fresh',cf. Gk. neãnis, neẽnis 'young, new' (of uncertain composition. Albanian type perhaps $^{+}$neu̯əmos, but cf. also Alb. *njom*,vb.freshen'). For adjectives of this type see (2).

i parë 'first' derives from a type $^{+}$pr̥̄u̯os,ā via $^{+}$pər- with loss of $^{+}$-u̯-. Compensatory loss by insertion of $^{+}$-ə- becoming Albanian -a- occurs also in *valë* 'wave', from $^{+}$u̯l̥̄nis or $^{+}$u̯l̥̄nā, via $^{+}$u̯əl- and in *lag*,vb. 'wet', from $^{+}$u̯l̥g- via $^{+}$ləg-. Skt. pūrvaḥ : Av. paurvō : OPer. parūva- ('earlier') : Tokh. A pärwat, B pärwe : Sequanian priou (in priou-dixivos, if equivalent to Skt. pūrva-daksinaḥ 'south-eastern'): OCS prŭvŭ. Cf. Rumanian : pîrg 'ripe', pîrgav 'precocious' (a substrate form? with -g- for -v-,cf. négură fr. Lat. nebula).

i tillë 'such' (cf. Relative Pronouns: *i cili* fr. $^{+}$qu̯īlis), correlative, from a type $^{+}$tūlos,ā in view of Lith. tūlas 'one, such a one', also in sense of 'many a...' to Pol. tyli 'so much, quantī',but echoing the vowel -i- of *i cili*.

i vogël, mpl. *të vegjël* 'small'. A word of uncertain origin, but with vowel-fronting and palatalism in the mpl. not found elsewhere. Cf.*i lig*.

A large group of Albanian adjectives ending in *të* (or *ët*; usage is not yet settled) corresponds to the participle-type of adjective familiar in Greek (streptós, klētós ,klutós), Skt. (śritáḥ, śrutáḥ) , Latin (factus, inclutus), and the numerous English adjectival participles ending in -d that derive from Germanic verbs of the "weak" conjugations. The extension often occurs independently of a verbal origin, and is frequent as a denominative formant, cf. *i veshët* 'eared': Lat. aurītus : Czech ušitý : Lith. ausytas, and Eng. 'eared'. Occasionally the extension is accompanied or modified by iotacism (*qua*$^+$-ti̯os) as in the pp. *pasë* 'had', f. pl. id. 'riches' (fr. $^+$poti̯o-, $^+$poti̯ə, cf. Latv. cpds. paš- 'self-') ; Gk. tarsós 'dry'; Skt. tuččhaḥ 'empty, vain': Per. tihī : Oss. tutt:Alb. *i tytë* : MIr. tost('silence') : Sw. tyst ('silent') : OCS tŭštĭ 'empty': Lith. tuščias 'bare, void' : Latv. tukšs 'empty' , Finn.LW tyhjä,id. The reason for this iotacism is not certain, but could be a reinforcement of the simplex. Albanian also reflects the tendency to convert adverbs into adjectives, sometimes with, sometimes without the extension -të/-ët,, as in *i prapë*, *i prapët* 'upside-down, perverse' (from *prapë* 'back, backwards, reversed, behind', fr. pro-apo-), *i afër*, *i afërt* 'close, near' , from the adverb *afër* (fr. $^+$optero-),(speculations in Ernout-Meillet and Walde-Hofmann: prope, propter).

Adjectives that occasionally function as pronouns are most frequently placed before the nouns they qualify. In this case the usage with regard to inflection varies. *I gjithë* 'all' precedes the noun, but the noun is inflected (*i gjithë qyteti* 'the whole city'). *Tjetër* 'other', an adjective of compound origin ($^+$to- + $^+$etero-) forms its plural *të tjerë*, fem. *të tjera*, and usually follows the inflected noun (*qyteti tjetër*, pl. *qytetet e tjera* 'other city, cities'). *I njâjti*, f. *e njâjta* , Tosk *i njëjti*, *e -ta* precedes the noun and appropriates the inflection. The ordinal numbers usually follow the noun without inflection, but are inflected if placed before the noun (*hera e parë*, *e para herë*; *hera e dytë*, *e dyta herë* 'the first, second time'). The ordinal adjectives follow the Indo-European pattern as seen in Albanian *i dytë* : Skt. dvitáḥ 'second form of agni', dvitī́yaḥ (comparative form) 'second' ;cf. Av. bityō,id.: Old Persian duvitīya : Per. dūtā : Tokh. wät, wate ; Umb. duti 'again',cf. Alb. *së dyti*,id. Similarly *i tretë* (based on the masculine form *tre*), *i katërt* 'fourth', *i pestë* 'fifth',etc.

To the adjectives of type I belong a number of loanwords derived from Greek and Latin (sometimes extended by -*të*,-*ët*): *i mirë* 'good' (mīrus) ,

i lirë 'free' (līber), i dlirë 'clean' ($^{+}$dēlīber) , i fortë 'strong'(fortis), i mjerë 'miserable' (miser), i shurdhë 'deaf' (surdus), i verbët , T i verbër, (archaic Geg) i verbën (cf. Lat. orbus) 'blind', i shpeshët 'frequent' (Lat. spissus), i sheshët 'level' (cf. sessus), i drejtë 'direct, straight,right' (directus), i verdhë 'yellow' (sic!) (viridis), i gjelbër (T) 'green'(sic!) (galbanus), i âmbël, T i ëmbël 'sweet'(amābilis), i shenjtë 'holy' (sanctus), i shkretë (1) 'solitary, abandoned'.. (sēcrētus), i shkretë (2) 'damned, cursed' (sacrātus), i vështirë 'difficult' (Gk. austērós), i vorfën, T i varfër (sic) 'poor' (Gk.orphanós), etc. Slavonic and Turkish loanwords do not fall into this category.

Archaic Albanian, notably that of Buzuk (1555), has examples of a pp. in -t, see below: Participles.This is still echoed in i thatë'dry'(thaj).

Irregular forms are i ri, f. e re , pl. të rinj, f. të rea 'new,young' (also a suffix ri- 're-', of uncertain etymology); i zi, f. e zezë, pl. të zinj, f. të zeza 'black' (for the feminine form cf. Lith.júodas, adj. 'black', the Albanian form possibly from a type $^{+}$i̭ōdi̭ə. The masculine form seems to reflect $^{+}$-ū-, cf. Lith. judros 'black mark on horse's teeth'); i lig, mpl. të ligj 'evil' (cf. Lith. ligas 'ill').

A small number of adjectives of type 1 end in -shtë, of uncertain origin, but paralleled in Latin (angustus, augustus) and in Lithuanian(añkštas, aukštas, áukštas, lē̃kštas). Chief of these are i âmshtë 'brackish, insipid; silly'; i angshtë 'wild, rude' ; i breshtë 'rough, rugged'; i brishtë 'friable'; i lagshtë 'humid' ; i lashtë 'precocious, early'; i ligshtë 'evil, ailing' (cf. Lith. ligštis 'ailment'); i mbrapshtë 'perverse' ; i mefshtë 'sluggish'; i njomshtë 'fresh'; i plogshtë 'sluggish'; i rishtë 'recent', most with a background simplex.

The adjective i vetë 'own' equates with Gk. autós, and exists as an independent pronoun vetë 'self'. See Pronouns(page 121).

Type 2

Adjectives of this type differentiate the feminine from the masculine by the addition of -e to both singular and plural. They include IE words of superlative type (i mesëm, f.e mesme 'midmost' : OE medeme: Ir. meidheaṁ 'judge' (if not from med- as in Gk. medéōn and Osc. meddix); Skt. madhyamáḥ 'midmost'); Geg participles in -m when used as adjectives (i pimë 'drunk, imbibed'; and adjectives of potentiality ("-able") formed with

-shëm, f. -shme (cf. Gk. -simos). All types include a number of loanwords, chiefly from Latin.

I damë, f. e dame 'divided' (daj) ; cf. Gk. daiómenos ; i lamë, f. e lame 'washed'(laj) ; cf. Gk. louómenos ; i thamë, f. e thame 'dried'(thaj) cf. Gk. kaiómenos, beside i thatë 'dry', cf. Gk. kautós. These Geg adjectives correspond to the Tosk forms i darë, i larë and i tharë, which are of Type 1, and derive from archaic participles damun, lamun & thamun with reduced long-grade suffixes of Latin type al-umnus, i.e.$^{+}$-mn̥os. For the phonology, cf. mund 'conquer' : Gk. manthánō ; shtrungë'milking-pen': Gk. stragx, straggós, and for loss of -n- in later Geg cf. the earlier loss in gjumë 'sleep' (:Lat. somnus beside Gk. húpnos : OCS sŭnŭ,etc.) & in the loanword dâm, T dëm 'harm' (from damnum).

I bindëm, f. e bindme 'obedient' ; cf. Gk. pithanós 'persuasive', IE $^{+}$bhindhm̥nos, $^{+}$bhidh-; i pasëm, f. e pasme 'rich'; cf. Skt. patimayaḥ 'of a faithful wife'; i murmë, f. e murme 'brown', from a type $^{+}$smurimo- or $^{+}$smurəmo-, cf. Arm. mur 'black; soot, ink' : Ir. ($^{+}$-ū-) smúr 'ash, dust-cloud' ; cf. LG smurren 'grow mouldy' ; i prapëm, i prasëm 'rearmost',fr. $^{+}$pro-apəmo-, protimo-; cf.(1) Gk. pro-apo- , in cpds., (2) Skt. prati,Gk. pros, protí ; i sipërm, f. e sipërme 'topmost'; cf. Skt. atipra-'beyond', in cpds. ; i tejmë, f. e tejme 'far, ultimate'; cf. Gk. tõj 'thus,then': Lith. tuõ, tuõj 'just, right, straight': Alb. tej 'yonder; beyond', with the suffix as seen in Gk. prṓ-imos 'early' (see Prepositions: prej) ; i tharmë, f. e tharme 'acid' ;m. 'leaven' : Ger. dialect harm 'urine': Li. šármas 'lye, alkali' ; šarmà 'hoarfrost' : Latv. sārms 'lye'; sarma'hoarfrost' ; LW in Finn. härmä 'hoarfrost'. IE^{+}k̂orm- ; i vetëm, f. e vetme, 'sole, only' (see Pronouns: vetë); as adv. vetëm 'only' : Lat. autem'indeed, however',etc.: Gk. autin 'at once'; i -shëm, f. e -shme (with verbal roots as in i la-shëm 'wash-able'; with noun roots '-ish,-y'as in i lângshëm, f. e lângshme (T i lëngshëm, e lëngshme) 'juicy'). The suffix has been linked with Latin summus on the basis of the adverb shumë 'very' (from summum), but a connexion with Greek -simos, -smios (cf. Gk. plẽsmios 'filling') is possible. Latin roots are capable of the formation in -m, -me, as in i fundëm, f. e fundme 'final' (fundus), i largëm, f. e largme 'distant' (largus).

Two anomalous forms of type 2 occur in i madh, f. e madhe, mpl. të *mëdhenj*, fpl. *të mëdhaja* (*të mëdhoja*), T and Buz. *të mëdhá* 'big,great' . This adjective shows clear affinity with both Greek mégas, megálē, méga, pl. megál-oi,-ai,-a, itself a problematical form, and (for the vowel) w. Latin magis 'more', and the extended form magnus 'big'. The full vowel is represented in Armenian mec, Goth. mikils (OHG mihhil, OS mikil), ON mjök ('very'), and in the Greek forms; a reduced vowel is indicated in Latin magis, magnus, Gaulish magalo- (by assimilation from $^{+}$meĝalo-, cf. garano- : Gk. géranos 'crane') , in Welsh mael 'prince' , and (if related) Hittite makkesci 'becomes great' beside mekkis 'great'. IE $^{+}$meĝ- , $^{+}$məĝ-. The problem has been widely discussed. The other anomalous adjective of type 2 is *i kuq*, f. *e kuqe*, mpl. *të kuq*, fpl. *të kuqe*, a word of non-Albanian origin, cf. Gk. kókkinos 'red', with the usual conversion of Gk. -o- to Albanian -u- as in *udhë* (hodós), *punë* (pónos), *hudhër* (skórodon), some of very early date.Likewise *i keq*'bad',*e keqe*,pl.*të këqij*, fpl. *të këqija*.

Type 3

Adjectives of this type behave exactly like those of type 2, but suppress the particle. They are mostly derivatives extended by -*ac*, -*acak*, -*ar*, -*as*, -*ash*, -*ës*, -*ik*, -*isht*, -*ok*, -*osh*, -*tar*, -*tuer* (T-*tor*), -*uer* (T -*or*), -*uq*, -*ush*,etc. (the Geg -*tuer*, -*uer* converting to-*tore*,-*ore* in the feminine singular,and plural,-*torë*, -*orë* in the masculine plural). Type 3 includes nouns when used as appositional adjectives (especially to denote trades), adverbs in -*isht* when used adjectivally (-*isht* '-wise'),ablative plurals (in -*sh*) when used as adjectives (especially the numerals *dysh* 'in two', *trish* 'in three',etc. and the formula -*fish*, for *fijsh* , abl. pl. of *fill* 'thread', when used in the sense of '-fold' (*trefísh*,f. *trefishe* 'threefold'). Here belong also the adverbial adjective *shqip* 'Albanian-fashion', hence 'Albanian', f. *shqipe*, and the Slavonic loanwords *kreshnik* 'hero; heroic', and *memëc* 'deafmute'. Nouns in apposition behave similarly, but preserve the inflection characteristic of the noun rather than the adjective (*ushtari trim* 'the brave soldier', *vajza trimneshë* 'the brave girl'; *druvari plak* 'the old woodman', *nâna plakë* 'the old mother' (pl. *pleq*, *plaka*). Creatures not normally distinguished by name (*gárgull* 'starling') are sexually indicated by the addition of *máshkull* 'male', or *femën* (T *femër*) 'female', which are inflected as nouns (pl. *máshkuj*, *méshkuj*; *femna*, *femra*).

It is believed that the noun-adjective of function in *-ës* is of participle origin in view of the apparent equation of Illyrian Dases, Dasentis, also spelt Dazas, -antis 'lover, loving' with Albanian *dashës*, id. especially in view of the parallel names Dazimos, f. Dazima 'beloved' ; cf. Albanian *i dashëm*, f. *e dashme*. If this is so, cf. *ndezës* 'igniter ; inflammable' : Lith. įdẽgęs (nuo saulēs) 'sunburnt'; *shoshës* 'sifting ; sifter' : Gk. sḗsas, id.

Type 4

Adjectives of this type are appositional, and thus bear no grammatical relationship with their antecedent. Such are *cub* (T *cup*) 'odd' (*númur cub* 'an odd number'); *shyt* 'hornless' (*dash* —, *dhi* — 'hornless ram , goat'); *kúkull* 'puppet' (*qeverrí* — 'puppet government'); *trokë* 'dirty, broke, drunk'; cf. Lith. trẽkti 'spoil, mess, squander'; *par* 'even', etc. Of quasi-adverbial character are the predicatives *afër* 'near' and *gati* 'ready'.

Composite adjectives, formed by the juxtaposition of noun and adjective, noun and noun, or noun and participle, are uninflected, as in the compounds *mendjeshkurtë* 'stupid' , *mendjelehtë* 'frivolous', *mendjeholllë* 'shrewd', *fjalëgjatë* 'longwinded' , *dorëgjatë* 'high-handed', *dorëçelë* 'generous, openhanded' , *dorëthatë* 'niggardly', *gjakndezun*, *-ur* 'hotheaded', *gjaknxehtë*, id., but *barkzâne* 'pregnant' is always given a feminine inflection. Compounds of the irregular *i madh* 'big' (pages 111-112) are inflected in the second component (*fjalëmadh*, f. *-madhe*, mpl. *-mëdhenj* , etc. 'bombastic').

Anomalous Formations

For *i gjithë*, *i njâjti*, *tjetër* see page 109; for *i ri*, *i zi*, *i lig*, see page 110; for *i madh*, *i kuq*, *i keq*, see pages 111-112 ; for the position of *i vetëm*, see page 111; for the position of ordinal numbers, see page 109. The predicative adjective *i zoti*, f. *e zonja*; pl. *të zotët*, f. *të zonjat* 'able, capable' are strictly appositional nouns, and are represented in the definite form. Negative adjectives are represented variously with the prefixes *pa-* (un-, in-, non-), *mos-* (non-), and *sh-* (dis-), rarely with the prefixes *s-*, *z-*.

PRONOUNS

Personal Pronouns and Demonstratives

Of the Personal Pronouns : unë; ti; ay, ajó ;pl. ne, neve; ju, juve; atá, ató, those of the third person also serve as demonstratives (='that',m.f., pl. 'those',m.f.), the correlative forms of these being respectively ky, kjo; pl. këtá, këtó. Usage fluctuates between the masculine and feminine forms when used with neuter nouns. A common variant of ay 'he,that' is aí.

An archaic form of the first person singular pronoun is u (Buzuk,Bardhi, Variboba), a form still current in Gjirokastër. This seems to have passed from a prototype $^{+}$egô̄ (:Lat. Gk. egō) via $^{+}$eō, $^{+}$eu to its present form (cf. the 5th century Gallo-Latin word geusiae 'throat'> Alb.gushë). Analogous to the (now generally used) extended form unë is the dialectal tinë 'thou', a Tosk form, for which the northern dialects have tina,tine and tinej. This appears to originate in a deictic particle of type $^{+}$nā̆! ('behold') as in Laconic egṓ-nē 'I', toú-nē 'thou' (Doric egṓn, Boeotian toún), cf. Lat. quis-nam,etc. The suffix does not arise in the pronouns of the third person. For ti 'thou'< IE $^{+}$tū, cf. Gk. su, Lat. tu,etc.

The pronouns of the third person are used both attributively and predicatively as demonstratives (ay djalë, nji djalë si ay), the fragment a- denoting a more distant object ('that'), the fragment kë-,k- the nearer object ('this'), as in ky djalë, nji djalë si ky. Whatever the origin of k- in this context (for speculations on Lat. ec-ce, ec-cum (and Oscan ekak, ekas) see Walde-Hofmann LEW, Ernout-Meillet DELL, Sommer HbLLF)the Albanian fragment is echoed in the adverb kë-tú 'here' (cf. the correlative ku 'where', and contrast the adverb a-tý 'yonder'. See below:ty).

Singular	1	2	3m.	3f.	3n.
Nom.	unë (u)	ti	aý,aí	ajó	aý, aí
Acc.	më, mue (mua)	të,ty	e,atë	e,atë	e, atë
(Gen.	i imi	i yti	i tij	i saj	i tij)
Dat.	më, mue (mua)	të,ty	i,atíj	i,asáj	i, atíj
Abl.	meje	teje	atíj(así)	asáj(asó)	atíj (así)

The suppletive genitive is the predicative form of the possessive adjective (see Possessive Adjective).

Plural	1	2	3m.	3f.	3n.
Nom.	ne,na,neve	ju,juve	atá	ató	ató
Acc.	na, neve	ju,u,juve	i,atá	i,ató	i,ató
(Gen.	i yni	i jueji, i juaji	i tyne, i tyre	i tyne, i tyre	i tyne, i tyre)
Dat.	na, neve	ju,u,juve	u, atyne	u, atyne	u, atyne
Abl.	nesh	jush	asísh	asósh	asísh,asósh

With minor adjustments the above tables are taken from the author's Albanian Grammar of 1932, in which the forms then accepted for general use were Geg of the Elbasan pattern.Of the above forms *i juaji* and *i tyre* are Tosk. The possessive adjectives, as substitutes for the genitive pronoun, are given as they appear after a masculine noun; the feminine equivalents are respectively *e imja* (and *e emja*), *e ytja*, *e tija*, *e saja*;pl: *e jonja*, *e jueja* (*e juaja*), *e tyne* (*e tyre*. Notionally +*e tynja*, +*e tyrja*, forms which do not appear to have any currency). The forms given are predicative, equivalent to English 'mine, yours, his, hers',etc.

The Northern dialects represent *atë* 'him, her' as *atê* or *até*, the first form (with the nasal vowel) echoing an IE nasal consonant as in Lat. is-tum, is-tam, Gk. ton, tēn. With prepositions the word is usually contracted to *'të* (*'tê*) as in *me'të* 'with him,her', *për 'të* 'for him,her' .

The weak forms of the oblique pronouns (accusative and dative)have an exact counterpart in French (*më* = Fr. me; *mue,mua* = Fr. moi ; *të* = Fr.te, *ty* = Fr. toi), and , as in French, it is the emphatic forms (*mue,mua*;*ty*) that are used after prepositions (*me mue*, *për ty*,etc.). *Na* and *ju* are weak forms of the pronouns 'we' and 'you' respectively, and, like the other pronouns, are usually suppressed in the nominative, since the inflection of the verb indicates its function. *Neve* and *juve* are used when extra emphasis is required, and appear to derive from a lost genitive , since neither the accusative nor the dative usage echoes that of any IE language. The form *juve* bears some resemblance to the dual nominative in archaic Sanskrit yuvám , gen. and loc. yuvóḥ. Further connexions obscure.

The proclitic pronouns become enclitic when joined to the imperative : *merr-e*! 'take it' , *jep-i-a* 'give it to him'(Mann: Short Albanian Grammar § 70,Note). The accusative weak pronoun *e* 'him, her, it' is converted to *a* when preceded by a dative weak pronoun, thus *t'a* ('it to thee', for +të *e*. Mann:SAG: § 70,note 3). The enclitic *na* equates with the Skt. enclitic naḥ; *ne* with Lat. nōs and OCS nasŭ; *neve* appears to be an analogous formation with *juve* (see remarks on page 115); the origin of the pronouns of the third person is to be sought in the Greek forms hos, hē in their demonstrative usage (kai hos, kai hē 'and he, and she') combined with the oblique forms of the definine article ton, tēn, to, etc. Opinions differ as to the ultimate form (+sos or +si̯os: OPer. hya-), but a form with iota is required for the Albanian nm. and nf.sg. -*y*, -*jo* , cf. Ossetic aj, ajä 'this', atä 'these' , in which the deictic particle is IE +e- , not as in Albanian, IE +o-. Hence the background for the Albanian pronouns seems to be +-si̯o-, -si̯ā, pl. +-to-, +-tās (Skt. tāḥ) respectively.

The genitive plural seems to be contracted from *i atyne* and is thus identical, apart from the particle, with the dative plural. The form is without parallel in the IE scheme.

The Possessive Adjective

The possessive adjective follows the noun it qualifies, and is not declined. It does however agree with its antecedent in person and number as the following table shows.

	Noun in Singular		Noun in Plural	
		MY		
N	i im (i em)	e ime (e eme)	e,të mij	e,të mij(a)
Obl.	t'im (t'em)	t'ime (t'eme)	e,të mij	e,të mij(a)
		YOUR,sg.		
N	i yt	e jote	e,të tu	e,të tua
Obl.	t'at (tand)	t'ate (tande)	e,të tu	e,të tua
		HIS		
N	i tij	e tij	e,të tij	e,të tij(a)
Obl.	e,të tij	e,të tij	e,të tij	e,të tij(a)
		HER		
N	i saj	e saj	e,të saj	e,të saj(a)
Obl.	e,të saj	e,të saj	e,të saj	e,të saj(a)
		OUR		
N	i ynë	e jonë	t'anë, t'onë	t'ona
Obl.	t'anë, t'onë	t'onë	t'anë, t'onë	t'ona
		YOUR,pl.		
N	i juej (i juaj)	e juej (e juaj)	t'uej (tuaj)	t'ueja (tuaja)

Obl.	t'uej (tuaj)	t'uej (tuaj)	t'uej (tuaj)	t'ueja (tuaja)
		THEIR		
N	i tyne(i tyre)	e tyne(e tyre)	të tyne(të tyre)	të tyne(të tyre)
Obl.	e,të tyne (..tyre)	e,të tyne(.. tyre)	e,të tyne(..tyre)	e,të tyne (..tyre)

Notes on the Possessive Adjectives

The forms of the Possessive Adjective are of extreme complexity. Archaic forms include Buzuk's *ujnë*, *ujt* 'our, thy'. The oblique form of *ujt* in Buzuk is *tinë*, corresponding to (Geg and Tosk) *tand*, *tande*, also used by Buzuk!), and the Tosk variant *tënd*, *tënde*. Kristoforidhi of Elbasan(1827-1895), the Bible translator, even uses an oblique form *t'yt* (!) 'thy' , a form tolerated by Ilia Dilo Sheperi in his Grammar of 1927 (page 67) . The nominative form *i jonë* (masc.) is no longer current; it seems to have been peculiar to the dialect of Tirana, the capital, and an Albanian dialect spoken by 15th century emigres near Naples. The oblique form *t'onë*, nowadays written as one word *tonë*, is current for both masculine and feminine antecedents (*në vendin tonë* 'in our country'). Here, it should be mentioned, there arises a curious anomaly that has puzzled many Albanian and non-Albanian scholars alike, viz. the use of what appears to be an "indefinite" particle after a definite noun. This usage is peculiar to the *accusative singular*, and *nom.acc.pl*.of the *first* and *second persons* . Thus *në vendin tat* (*tand*, *tënd*) 'in thy country', *në gjuhën tate* (*tande*, *tënde*) 'in thy language'; *në vendin tem* (*tim*)'in my country', *në gjuhën teme* (*time*)'in my language'. Similarly *në vendin tonë*, *në vendin tuej*,T *në vëndin tuaj*,etc. All other forms of the possessive adjective behave as adjectives of Type 1(see pages 103 and 105), except when the *antecedent is plural* and the *adjectivesare in the first or second person plural*. Here, again, the antecedent noun, if definite, ends in -*t*, but the following pronominal adjective nevertheless begins with *t'*, which is nowadays joined to the root word. Thus NApl. *vendet tona*, *vendet tueja*(the Tosk dialects tolerate also *vëndet tonë*, *vëndet tuaj*), though the plural stems in -*e* are normally regarded as feminine. (Occasional indefinite nouns of substances present no special problems: *atë venë tonë*,T *atë verë tonë*,acc. 'that wine of ours').

After a feminine genitive or dative singular noun it is usual to substitute "euphonic" s- for t- in agreement with the preceding definite inflection (*i*,*e*,*të*) *gjuhës sonë*/*suej* (T *suaj*).

Variants

The favoured forms of the first person singular are *im*, *ime*, omitting the particle (*djali im*, *vajza ime* 'my boy, my girl'). The oblique forms of the second person singular, *tat*, *tate* (*sat*, *sate* after a feminine gs. or ds.) are preferred to *tand*, *tande*, while Kristoforidhi's *tyt* seems to be isolated. (Kristoforidhi's native town was Elbasan). The Tosk oblique form *tënt*, *tënde* (standardized to *tënd*, *tënde*) seems to be obsolescent. The oblique forms of the first person plural are *tonë*,(after a feminine gen. or dat. sg. *sonë*),regardless of the gender of the noun,but Kristoforidhi has *prej Perëndisë Atit t'ynë* 'from God our father', for which the Tosk version of the NT has *atit t'ënë*. For the feminine Kristoforidhi has *ligjës t'onë* (nowadays *ligjës sonë*) 'to our law'. The form of the third person plural *i*,*e*,*të* *tyne* is contracted from the obsolete *i atyne*, *e atyne*,etc., and is no longer written with an apostrophe. Similarly Tosk *i*,*e*,*të* *tyre*. The differentiation between the NAP masculine *tanë* and the feminine *tona* is no longer observed; the modern forms are *tonë*, *tona* 'our',m.f.pl.

Predicatively the possessive adjectives become virtual pronouns, and take the suffixed article: *ky libër âsht i imi*, *këta libra janë tonët* , (*atá libra janë të tyne*) (..*të tyre*),etc. For names of members of the family a hypocoristic formula places the possessive adjective in front of the noun (*im bir* 'my son', acc: *tim bir*, gen: *i tim birit*, dat: *tim* biri). The title *Imzot* 'Monsignor' is a fossilized formula.

Etymological Notes

The personal pronouns *u*,*unë*, *ti* (*tinë*), (a)*y*, (a)*jó*; *na*, *ne*, *neve*; *ju*, *juve*, and (*a*-)*tá*,-*tó* form the basis of the possessive adjectives. Their oblique forms (*mue*,*mua* 'me' : Lat. mē,etc.;*ty*,*tyj* 'thee' : Latvian tevi,acc. tev,dat.: Lith. tevi, ,tave, acc., tav, tau,dat.; *na* 'us' : Skt. naḥ beside the prepositional *ne*,(*për*) *ne* : Lat. nōs, OCS (pro) nasŭ; *ju* 'you'; Lith. jus,acc.: Latv. jūs,acc. beside the prepositional *juve*,(*për*)*juve*: Goth. izwis, (faúra) izwis) afford little clue as to the exact background of the fragments representing the possessive roots.

(*I*) *im*,(*i*)*em* equates with Armenian im and Gk. emós. The oblique *tim*, tem is prefixed by a relic of the oblique IE demonstrative (in Greek = the definite article ton tēn, to,etc.), which, however, reflects the nom. link-particle i, e of entirely different origin (IE $^{+}$is,i̯ā̆ : Lat. is,ea, Lith. jis, ji, Goth. is, neut. ita,etc.). The oblique demonstrative, or what is left of it, is reflected in Lith. ta, ,etc.: Latv. to,etc. and in Latin is-tum,-tam,-tud, which reflects both IE $^{+}$is and IE $^{+}$to-.

In i yt, f. e jote 'thy' it is the second half that reflects the IE possessive, since the first part y- and jo- are purely demonstrative.Cf. page 116, lines 5 - 8. Here -t alone reflects an IE type^{+}tu̯os: Skt.tvá, Lat. tuus, Gk. sós. (Slavonic tvoj reflects a genitive of Greek-type soĩo 'of thee' converted into an adjective). The accusative forms tat and tand represent diversified forms of oblique IE $^{+}$tom, tām, tod, the first apparently reflecting a neuter form $^{+}$to- (i.e.$^{+}$to-tu̯om), the second representing a formula of masculine type ($^{+}$tom-tu̯om), hence the presence of a nasal in tand. The isolated tyt can only be explained as a hybrid, and has no literary currency.

The third person singular seems to represent a formula $^{+}$is^{+}(i̯a) tesi̯o, cf. the Skt. genitive demonstrative tásya, Gothic þis : OHG dës, and the variants Gk. toĩo and Latin is-tius. The feminine form can be explained as due to crasis of a formula represented by Skt. tasyāḥ 'of this',f.but even so the phonology of i,e saj is difficult to account for, unless we presume crasis of a type $^{+}$tesi̯ēs (?): OHG dësses, via $^{+}$tsi̯ē- (?).

The first person plural, like the first person singular, contains its radical element in the consonant, the preceding vowel being demonstrative. Zero-grade, it seems to represent $^{+}$n̥s- followed prehistorically by $^{+}$-mos in view of Aeolic and Epic amós, hamós, cf. the Skt. oblique asma-.

The second person plural derives from a formula of type $^{+}$i̯usi̯o-, Skt. oblique yuṣ-,Aeolic assimilated úmmos, though the phonology of the Albanian form is closer to Lithuanian jūsujis, f. jūsuji 'yours'. The oblique forms of the 1st. and 2nd. plural reflect the IE demonstrative^{+}to-, the first person plural in particular indicating the original difference of gender (ta-në from^{+}to-n̥s-, to-në from $^{+}$tā-n̥s-).

The form of the third person plural is entirely anomalous. Tyne(tyre) is a reduced form of atyne (atyre), of which the correlative form këtyne (këtyre) expresses nearness (a- 'that; those', kë-'this,these'); see p.

114, para.1. Its origin is obscure. All that can be said with certainty is that the vowel -y- is never of primary origin, but of secondary origin due to the presence or nearness of prehistoric $^{+}$-i- or yot.(Its history is distinct from that of -ye-). The final syllable -ne derives from $^{+}$nō on account of its Tosk form -re, since conversion of -n- to -r- occurs only before an original back vowel, or before a stressed -í as in the loanword mëní, Tosk mërí 'hate'(Greek manía). Contrast Tosk (and Geg) janë 'they are' (from $^{+}$esn̥ti : Gk. éāsi) , Tosk (and Geg) qen 'dog'(from Latin canis).

With the exception of the third plural tyne (tyre) those possessives with a feminine plural antecedent require (like the adjectives of type 1) the ending -a, but this rule is not always observed, especially in Tosk. It derives apparently from a shortened form of $^{+}$-ās, fem.pl.nom. as in Skt. NAPl.f. tāḥ,enāḥ : Oscan -as in NPl.f. nessimas 'nearest'.

The Possessive Adjective as a Syntagma.

The Redundant Pronoun.

The underlying syntax of the possessive adjective is matched in Greek,cf. Homeric phthísei se to son ménos 'thy spirit will consume thee' (IE.$^{+}$tod tu̯om...). Albanian, too, has an infrequent neuter of type vojt tim (..tat, të tij, të saj; tonë, tuej, të tyne), Tosk vajt tim,etc. 'my oil',etc.(Cf. Mann:SAG pp.64-65; Ilia Dilo Sheperi GSGjSh. p. 68 with variants). The usage becomes increasingly common in later Greek, cf. the Biblical: ho lógos ho emós : Vulgate: sermō ille meus 'my word', acc. tòn lógon tòn emón.

The repetition of the object after its statement by the relative pronoun is a feature common to Albanian and Rumanian. Cf. ..qi e kam humbë, T që e kam húmbur 'which I have lost', and Rum. care o am perdút,id.Such close parallelism, including the postpositive article, and the use of the verb'to have' in conjunction with verbs of motion (kam ardhë, ka ardhë: Rum.am venit, a venit) and other factors have led scholars to suppose a common linguistic basis for both Illyrian and Dacian, the latter having had a form of Latin superimposed upon it. The enforced adoption of Latin by the Dacian wives of the conquerors would easily account for its distortion in terms of the Dacian idiom.

The Reflexive Pronoun

The proclitic particle *u* 'self' is used with those verbs (see Page 137) that have no independent mediopassive forms. It represents a prototype $^{+}$seu (beside $^{+}$seu̯e) as seen in Homeric heé,acc., heoī,dat. and the possessive adjective heós (Wright: CGGL p.241; Meillet-Vendryès: TGCLC: p.509; Chantraine: pp.148-9): Latv. sev,acc. & dat. 'self': OLith. sevę, now savè,acc., sav, sau,dat.id. ; a theme probably present in so-cors,- cordis 'carefree, peculiar',etc.; W hun 'self' ($^{+}$seu- +-n-, cf. Lith. savęs 'of self' (invariable) ;preferable to JMJones: Welsh (Historical) Grammar,p.307 ($^{+}$su̯'oin-));here probably also Arm. hevr, hiwr,o,ov 'guest',fr. $^{+}$seu̯i̯o-(cf. with different vocalism Latv. svešs 'strange', Lith. svečias 'guest'). The particle *u* becomes enclitic after an imperative, as in *vesh-u*! 'dress yourself' (but *u-vesh* 'he dressed himself').

The emphatic form *vetë* 'self' equates with Greek autós,-ḗ,-ó. For the vocalism cf. *vesh* 'ear' in relation to Lat. auris, Lith. ausìs,etc.(Cf . S.E.Mann:"Language", 26,3,1950: page 382). The Albanian form is both nom. and acc.; an inflected form exists in the phrase *prej vetī(t)*, abl. 'of iself', and a noun-type *vetëhe*, def. *vetëhja* 'the self' is often used in the acc. and dat. for extra emphasis (*vetëhen*, *vetëhes*, the acc. sometimes being uninflected). For the second fragment, cf. Latin se.For adverbial derivatives see Derived Adverbs, page 202. A common formula expressing emphasis is *vetvetë* 'of its own accord': Gk. autautoũ, ausautoũ.

The Relative Pronoun

The current forms are specific and non-specific. The first, *i cili*, f.*e cila*, mpl. *të cilët*, fpl. *të cilat*, has a Northern Geg (Scutari) variant *i cilli* and *i silli*, f. *e cilla*, *e silla*; pl. *të cijt*, *të sijt*, *të cijat*, *të sijat*, the form *i silli* being that of Buzuk (1555). The correlative , *i tillë* 'such' (also with the deictic prefixes *i këtillë*, *e këtillë*; *i*, *e atillë*), behaves as an adjective of type 1.

The two forms reflect the IE radicals $^{+}$qu̯i- and $^{+}$ti- respectively. The first is reflected in Albanian *si* 'how; as' : Gk. tí, tíē 'why' : Latin quī, quia-nam 'how, why',etc. (See Adverbs, page 201). The second is to be found in OSax. thi-t, Ger. die-s 'this' , and cf. Goth. þei ("þī"), a Germanic particle with prepositional uses. The extension -*li*,etc. seems to be related to Latin -lis (in quālis, tālis), Gk.-li- (in pē-li-kos,tēli-kos), and OCS -lĭ (in kolĭ 'how much; how, as'; tolĭ 'so much')beside kolikŭ 'how many'; tolikŭ 'so many').

The second, or non-specific, form of the relative pronoun,qi, T që , is invariable, refers to a general (but also a specific) background like English 'that' , and has, by extension of usage, come to be regarded as an equivalent of the entirely specific i cili, e cila, të cilët, të cilat(cf. English 'who, which'). Unrelated to the IE formula +qu̯i-, it appears to be a form of qe! 'behold!', especially as a formant in the adverbs qe-tásh 'just now', qëkur 'some time ago', që-këtej 'just along here', që-moti 'of old' (qe- is the Geg, që- the Tosk fragment).

An invariable fragment se (IE +qu̯e- or +qu̯em, cf. Lat. quem) is used as a sentence-link or conjunction to introduce the predicate of affective verbs ("he said that..., he thought that..., he believed that..." etc.), sentences that are normally introduced by qi,që, especially when the antecedent is a noun ("the problem that...",etc.). This fragment has a relative force only in conjunction with a preposition: me se 'with what' (fr. +met qu̯em), nga se 'from what' (+en-qu̯o- qu̯em), përse, pse 'why'(+pro qu̯em), sepse 'because' (+qu̯em-pro-qu̯em), and the isolated seç'as to which, as to what' (+qu̯emqu̯id).

An invariable word çka of inclusive meaning (like English 'all of which, whatever')is composed of IE +qu̯id and +qu̯od , cf. Mod. Gk. tí-po-te.This is paralleled by a form çiç 'what' (fr. +qu̯idqu̯id, cf. Hitt.+kwitkwit implied by kwiskwis 'whoever, anybody': Lat. quicquid, quidquid,id.).Avestan has a similar formula in čisča 'whosoever', čisčiṭ 'whatsoever' (fr. +qu̯isqu̯e and +qu̯isqu̯id respectively).

The Interrogative Pronoun

As in English, Albanian distinguishes between selection from an indeterminate background (kush or kushi 'who') and selection from a determinate background (cili, f. cila, pl. cilët, cilat 'which'). The second form is identical with that of the relative pronoun, but without the particle.

The form kush (Geg also kushi) contains the zero-grade element as seen in ku 'where', kur 'when' ,and reflected in Skt. kū'where', Av. kū,id., as well as in Lat. cūr (earlier quōr)'why' , Lith. and Latv. kur'where'. (Speculations in WH: Lat. Etym.Wb. None in EM. Dict.Etym.Lgue Lat.). Armenian ur 'where' displays the same feature(+qu̯r-). Cf.Lat.cum,cj. = quom.

Albanian kush, kushi can be explained as a reduced form $^{+}$qṷ-si- , cf. Tokharian A kus, B kŭse interrog. and rel. 'who', a word which displays similar vocalism to Albanian. For the final fragment -si- cf. Albanian vesh 'ear' (: Lat. auris, Latv. auss, Lith. ausìs) and Armenian or, oro,-ov 'that which, who, what; whoever' (from $^{+}$qṷosi-, cf. ẹir 'wast' : Skt. āsīḥ ; ẹr 'was' : Skt. āsīt). The accusative is in Buzuk kana, ke & kun (with varying degrees of stress?), the first representing IE $^{+}$qṷom- + -a (a deictic particle?) , the last, a zero-grade $^{+}$qṷm. The modern forms are Geg kênd, Tosk kë, the former being difficult to explain other thanas an analogical formation (with k- for expected $^{+}$s- or $^{+}$c-) from IE $^{+}$qṷim and a deictic particle (cf. Gk. tí dé) . The Tosk form kë reflects the Geg nasal in kênd. O-vocalism is present in Vedic káya: Srb. koji,interr.'who'.

The genitive and dative form is kuj 'of, to whom'. This, likewise in zero-grade, equates with Latin cuius (OLat. quoius) : Osc. púiieh :Osset. käi and cäi 'whose' (Oss. īs-käi 'somebody' : Lith. kai- 'any'). The genitive has been given an extension to adjectival use by the addition of the particles i,e and the inflection -t (i, e kujt 'whose'), and in this it resembles Gk. poĩos,-a,-on 'what sort of' : Plautine quoia (vōx)'whose (voice)' ; Virgilian cuium pecus 'whose sin' : Srb. koj-i,-a,-e cf. OCS kyj, kaja, koje 'what sort of' beside (e-grade) čij, čĭja, čĭje 'whose'.

The problem of Indo-European vocalism for the interrogative,as against the relative pronoun is linked with the forward-looking aspect of the vowel $^{+}$-e- (as in Lith. te 'let (us)...: R pajdjóm-te) and the backward-looking aspect of the vowel $^{+}$-o- (as in R. and Com.Sl to : Lat. tum). The confusion is explicit in the variant forms of the Latin neuter (quid and quod). Sanskrit forms imply o-vocalism (in kaḥ, f. kā, n. kim (fr.qṷm̥) , acc. kam, kām, kim), and in the unpalatalized k- they resemble Albanian.

The neuter form of the interrogative is the invariable and undeclined ç''what' ; identical with Greek tí : Latin quid, Armenian -č̣- (in in-č̣,fr. $^{+}$qṷimqṷid: Mann: AHG: page 110; and o-č̣, č̣' 'no, not' fr.$^{+}$(qṷod)qṷid),etc. The weak sentence-position of this pronoun, which has become proclitic,is usually reinforced by compounding: çfarë, çka, ça ($^{+}$qṷid + $^{+}$spor-; + $^{+}$qṷod, + $^{+}$i̭o-).

Selective and Negative Pronouns in di-,as-

From sa 'how much, how many' is formed the invariable disá 'some', the fragment di- being identical with the verbal root di 'know' . Similarly formed is diçká (di + çka) 'something', with an occasional dat. (implied by the N.Geg diçkahe 'a something') *diçkahit ; beside diç, invar. 'something'; dikúsh, dikúshi, gen. i,e,të dikújt, dat. dikúj 'someone' ; diqish (Elbasan dial.) 'something' , beside qish 'what, something'(cf. Gk. keĩ-nos). The foregoing pronouns are sometimes used non-selectively (as English 'any...'). A formant of similar force is the fragment ndo-'some' (from në do 'if one wish' = Gk. an déēj, an déoi 'if need be'). Thus ndokúsh 'somebody', ndonjí, T ndonjë′ 'someone, some'(sg.). The northern dialects have an invariable do 'some' (used adjectivally with sing.or pl. nouns). Tosk(dialect)forms are çoç 'something'(fr. $^{+}$qu̯āqu̯id), çocili,etc.

The antithesis of di- and ndo- is as-, hence askúsh(i) 'nobody', asgjâ′, T asgjë′ 'nothing' (gjâ, T gjë, def. gjâni, gjëri = 'thing').

Non-selective Pronouns

Kushdó 'everyone, anyone' is declined like kush (page 123); similarly sikúsh,id. Buzuk has an obsolete form kushnjé, dat. kujnáj in the same sense. Seicili, also secili (-cilli) 'each' behaves like i cili (p.122) and sometimes occurs with the suffix -do added to the inflexion. An obsolete form occurs in Buzuk: i sillidota, inflected internally. From the invariable adjective çdo 'every' (:Gk. ti déēj) are formed çdonjerí 'everybody' (njerí ='man, homo'), çdogjâ 'everything',etc.

Various Pronouns

Njâni (T njëri) 'the one', tjetri 'the other'; f. njâna (T njëra), tjetra behave as nouns (njâni tjetrin 'each other', njâni tjetrit 'to each other',etc.). The plural njânat (T njërat) is both masc. and fem. For the adjective tjetër, see pages 109, 113. The adjective i gjithë (p.109) is unchanged when used as a pronoun, but is sometimes used without the particle and article.

The relic of a demonstrative arises in the isolated ablative forms,now regarded as obsolete, sij and sije,m.sg., soje,f.sg. ;pl: sish,m.,sosh,f. It is still current in the North, and not uncommon in Buzuk (prej sije , soje 'from it, him, her'; Buzuk: njâna ën sosh 'one of them'f.) It seems to derive from the demonstrative element t- by induced palatalism due to a following yot, but the details are not clear. For the feminine, cf. Gk. tẽj, and for the plural cf. Gk. toĩsi, tẽjsi.

THE VERB

The Indo-European Background

The Indo-European distribution of verb-forms as reflected in Albanian is limited to the present, the aorist, the subjunctive, and the imperative. There is a mediopassive that reflects some of the features found elsewhere in the Indo-European scheme. The imperfect has something of the character of the Latin extensions in -ss-; the future and conditional are formed from the present and imperfect subjunctive preceded by the invariable particle *do* 'will' (= Gk. deĩ, dẽj), a formula that has spread to the Geg dialects from Tosk, which lacks an infinitive like Modern Greek. In the Geg dialects the future and conditional are formed with *kam* 'I have' followed by the infinitive with *me* 'to' (in this context). Thus Tosk (andnow general) Albanian *do të pjek* 'I shall bake' (cf. Gk. thélō hina pepsō, Blg. šče peká, šča...). *Të* often has the force of Latin ut, and is found in the Lithuanian formula te-siẽ, te-esiẽ 'let there be' : Alb. *të jetë*,id. fr. IE $^+$te si̯ēt (:Skt. syāt : Lat. siet,sit). The Geg formula:*kam me pjekë* (Lat. 2nd. century onward: coquĕre habeō: Fr. j'ai à cuire in a restricted sense). A compound formula of sigmatic type (cf. Lat. -iss-) produces an optative, and there is an admirative mood of type *pjek*-*kam* 'behold I bake!' (cf. Rumanian păcătuit-am 'behold I have sinned', represented semantically by the Albanian formula pas-kam-....).

The usual forms of the aorist are reflected in the Latin, Lithuanian, and Latvian perfect/imperfect/preterite forms in -uī:-au:-u,etc. but there are relics of a sigmatic aorist as in Greek -sa,etc. A common aorist occurs (mainly) in open monosyllabic roots with yot in the present:— -*ta*, thought to be the relic of a lost imperfect, cf. English'did'in relation to'do'. There is no dual number.

A feature of many aorist forms is the change of internal vowel. This feature is common to Greek, Latin, Lithuanian, Latvian, and the Germanic languages, and has given rise to what Germanic scholars describe as 'Ablaut'. The commonest Albanian reflexes are those of archaic English as seen in bear, p.t. bare, and in take, p.t. took, representing respectively IE e:ē and ă:ā.

The Verb Stems

The Albanian verb-stems are indicated in the present tense, and in the following scheme the first person singular is given. The forms are those most widely used; variants are given in notes. Tosk forms are given next to Geg forms. N denotes Northern Geg variants. Bracketed indications of verb types refer to the classification used in the author's Short Albanian Grammar of 1932, and his Historical Albanian and English Dictionary of 1948.

A(1).Athematic Type: jam 'am'. IE type $^{+}$esmi

	Pres.	Impf.	Aor.	Pres.Subj.	Impf.Subj.	Opt.	Impv.
Sg.1	jam	ishe,isha	qeshë	të jem	t'ishe,t'isha	qofsha	
2	je	ishe	qe	të jesh	t'ishe	qofshë	ji
3	âsht, është	ishte,ish	qe	të jetë	t'ishte	qoftë	
Pl.1	jemi,jena	ishim	qemë	të jemi	t'ishim	qofshim	
2	jini,jeni	ishit	qetë	të jini	t'ishit	qofshi	jini
3	janë	ishin	qenë	të jenë	t'ishin	qofshin	

Future: do të jem, do të jesh,etc. Conditional: do t'ishe (do t'isha), etc. Infinitive (Geg only): me qênë; active participle:tue qênë, duke qënë; past participle:qênë, qënë; verbal noun:të qênun-it, të qënur-it. The 2pl.pres jeni 'you are' is a Northern Geg variant. So also të jeni, pres. subj., and jeni! imperative. An alternative Geg future is kam me qênë 'I shall be'(lit.'I have to be', see kam, type A2below), paralleled by a Geg conditional kishe(m) me qênë. An archaic Geg 1sg.imperfect is ishem for ishe 'I was'. Similarly kishem for kishe 'I had'. A Tosk form of imperfect 1sg. is ishnja, 2sg. ishnje beside Tosk ishja, ishje; jeshë, jeshe 'I was, thou wert' , forms no longer current. The truncated form ish is common in folktales. Buzuk's forms of the aorist and of the related participle are kleshë, kle, kle,etc.,(me) klenë, opt.klofsha, etc. , forms which recur in the Albanian dialects of Greece, but with klënë, klënur for klenë, the past participle. The form takes a variety of shapes in the modern Albanian dialects: N: kênë, Gjakova: kânë, for which Bogdani (1630-1688) has (me) qânë (area of Prizrend). An alternative aorist form occurs in the N: 1sg: kjeçë and kjeshë (see Mann:HAED) Perfect and Pluperfect: kam qênë,etc.; kishe qênë,etc.

A(2) Athematic Type: kam 'have'.

This word has no known IE connexions. Comparison of the singular(2.3.)

suggests comparison with a type of aorist shown below (but with -m instead of the sigmatic -shë). There is a type of perfect (IE +u̯oidm̥ :Gk. oída: OCS věmĭ) which could account for -m as a past-inflexion, but there is little support for this theory. Equally improbable is a compound of type sún-eimi in Greek, and Meyer's +khabh- :habeō is untenable on phonological grounds, as is the formula +kapmi. The plural endings of the present tense are similar to those of jam.

	Pres.	Impf.	Aor.	Pres.Subj.	Impf.Subj.	Opt.	Impv.
Sg.1	kam	kishe	pata	të kem	të kishe	patsha	
2	ke	kishe	pate	të kesh	të kishe	patshë	ki
3	ka	kishte,kish	pati	të ketë	të kishte	pastë	
Pl.1	kemi,kena	kishim	patëm	të kemi	të kishim	patshim	
2	kini,keni	kishit	patët	të kini	të kishit	patshi	kini
3	kanë	kishin	patën	të kenë	të kishin	patshin	

Future: do të kem, do të kesh,etc. Conditional: do të kishe,etc. Inf. (Geg): me pasë; active participle: tue pasë, duke patur; past participle: pasë, patur. The forms kena and keni are Northern Geg variants , like jena and jeni. Similarly të keni, and the imperative keni. The Geg colloquial future is kam me pasë, conditional: kishe me pasë. The Imperfect has similar alternative forms to those of jam above: kishem, kisha (T) and kishnja (archaic Tosk), with the truncated 3sg. kish. Kam forms the perfect and pluperfect of all verbs (kam qênë, kishe qênë ; kam pasë, T kam patur; kishe pasë, T kisha patur) even verbs of motion, as in kam ardhë 'I have come', cf. Rumanian am venit (also with the verb 'to have').

B. Athematic Type: thom,them 'say'. IE +ḱēsmi,ḱēnsmi

	Pres.	Impf.	Aor.	Pres.Subj.	Impf.Subj	Optative
Sg.1	thom,them	thoshe	thashë	të thom,them	të thoshe,	thança
2	thue,thua	thoshe	the	të thuesh	etc.	thançë
3	thotë	thoshte,thosh	tha	të thotë		thashtë
Pl.1	thomi,themi	thoshim	thamë	të thomi,themi		thançim
2	thoni	thoshit	thatë	të thoni		thançi
3	thonë	thoshin	thanë	të thonë		thançin

Optative (Tosk)

thënça,thënçë,thëntë; thënçim,etc.

The Imperative.

2sg. thuej,thuaj
2pl. thoni

The Future and Conditional are formed as for jam and kam, likewise the Perfect and Pluperfect, the pp. being thânë, T thënë (The Tosk infinitive surviving in a single cliché: domethënë 'that is, i.e.').

Variants include N 2pl.pres. thona; the Tosk impf. lsg. is thosha, but with a variant thoshja; for the plural a T variant occurs in thoshnim, thoshnit, thoshnin (Ilia Dilo). Elbasan has an impf. lsg. thoshjem, and variants of the impf. lsg. thoshje and thojshe occur. For the impf. 3sg. there occur thosh and thesh beside a N thote. A N form of the pres. subj. lsg. arises in të tham. The usual 3sg. is të thotë, but the variants të thetë (Italo-Albanian), të thejë (Greek-Albanian?) and the archaic form të thoetë (Buzuk) occur, 3pl. të thoenë.

C. Athematic Type: vetem 'go'. Cf. Skt. vemi

	Pres.	Impf.	Aorist	Pres.Subj.
Sg.1	vete(m)	vejshe	vojta,vajta	të vete
2	vete	vejshe	vojte,vajte	të veç, N të vesh
3	vete	vejte,vente	vojti,vajti	të vejë
Pl.1	vemi	vejshim,vejim	vojtëm,vajtëm,N vomë	të vemi,etc.as pres.
2	veni	vejshit,vejit	vojtët,vajtët,N votë	
3	venë	vejshin,vejin	vojtën,vajtën,N vonë	

Impf.Subj.	Optative	Imperative
të vejshe,etc.	vofsha,vafsha,N vosha	
	vofshë,vafshë,N voshë	(ec,shko)
	voftë,vaftë,etc.	

This verb is the most anomalous of all Albanian verbs. Its claim to belong to the athematic class of IE verbs is based on the plural forms, which reflect those of jam and kam (A1 and 2 above) and of them (B).Variants occur in the imperfect: pl. vejim,etc. beside vejshim,etc. and in the singular (Tosk) veja and vejë, veje, vente; pl. venim, venit,venin. Buzuk has an isolated 3s. veje (or vejë?) 'he went', beside vote. The following forms occur in N: veshe, veshe, vete; pl. veshim,etc. In Buzuk the aorist lsg. vota, 3s. vo occurs. The same author has a pres. subj. 1 pl. të vemtë (or të vemte?) 'let us go', and the optative form vefsha, 3 sg. veftë. The inf. and pp. is vojtë, vojtun, T vajtur, Buzuk and Bardhi (me) votë. The imperatives *ec* and *shko* are suppletive. The element -te- seems to derive from an adverbial appendage, see below: *The Etymological Background of the Albanian Verb*(page 168).Italo-Alb.të verë = të vejë,3s.

D. Open Radicals. Monosyllabic, with various forms in the Aorist. Type: *lâ,lë* 'let, leave'

	Pres.	Impf.	Aor.	Pres.Subj.	Impf.Subj.
Sg.1	lâ,lë	lenshe,lishe,linja	lashë	të lâ,lë	të lenshe,
2	lê,lë	lenshe,lishe,linje	le	të lash,lësh	etc.
3	lê,lë	lente,linte,linte	la	të lâjë,lërë	
Pl.1	lâmë,lëmë	lenshim,lishim,linim	lamë	të lâmë,lëmë	
2	lêni,lini	lenshit,lishit,linit	latë	të lêni,lini	
3	lânë	lenshin,lishin,linin	lanë	të lânë,lënë	

	Optative		Imperative
Sg.1	latsha (laça),lënça		
2	latshë (laçë),lënçë	Sg.	lên, ler
3	lashtë,lëntë		
Pl.	latshim (laçim),lënçim,etc.		
		Pl.	lêni, lini

Pp.lânë,lënë

In verbs of this type, and in all the verbs that follow, the 1st. person plural of the Present Tense ends in *-më*, not in *-mi*. This point is discussed below(The Etymological Background, page 168,cf.also page 140).

The verb *lâ,lë* is related to an isolated fragment of impersonal character *le* (të...) 'let'. Like this verb, but with greatly varying forms in the Aorist, are : *pi* 'drink' (pishe and pinja; piva,pive,piu; të pi, të pish, të pijë; pifsha, 3s. piftë); *ha*, 2pl. *hani* 'eat'(vowel -a- is constant , aor: hângra, hëngra;, opt. hâng(ër)sha, hëngërsha, pp.G hângër, Buzuk: ëngranë, T ngrënë); *di* 'know' (aor: dijta, pp. dijtë, ditur);*ble* (alternative form of *blej*, see below) 'buy' (aor:bleva,bleve,bleu); *fle*, *flë* (in the Greek- and Italo-Albanian dialects), now *flej* (see below)— (aor: flejta); *do* 'will' (but due, dua, 2.3sg don 'wish' ,pl. duem,duam; doni; duen,duan ; aor. desha, deshta, pp. dashtë, dashur), invariable formant of future and conditional. With internal vowel-change like lâ are *zâ* 'take,seize',T *zë*,(and *nxâ* 'learn', T *nxë*),Pres. 2pl. zêni,zini, and other forms analogously to *lâ* except for the aor: zûna, zûne, zûni;

zûmë, zûtë, zûnë (T zura, zure, zuri or zu; pl. zumë,etc. ; opt. zâsha , 3sg. zâftë, T: zënça, zëntë). Likewise vê,vë 'put', aor: vûna,vura,etc.

The past participle forms of these verbs vary between those in G & T -në (lânë,lënë 'left, let'; Buz. ëngranë, T ngrënë 'eaten'); -më or zero, (pimë,pi, T pirë 'drunk', blemë, ble, T blerë 'bought'); and -të, T -tur (dijtë, ditur 'known'). The Geg forms preceded by me form the infinitive. The pp. of due,dua 'I wish' is G dashtë, T dashur. The possible reasons for these fluctuations are given under The Etymological Background below. The pp. of vê,vë is entirely anomalous: G vûmë, vû, T vënë. The Geg pp. forms in -më are now obsolete, and presuppose a still earlier form, occurring occasionally as an adjective, $^+$-mun. For the pp. pimë Buzuk has pitë, pijtë, inf. me pijtë (!).

E. Thematic Type: tund 'shake' ; fal 'present;pardon'

IE $^+$-ō, -i̯ō

Verbs of this type are monosyllabic in their radical form. The internal vowel is constant throughout the conjugation, and the absorption of the IE iotacism ($^+$-i̯ō,-i̯esi,-i̯eti) has nullified the effect of vowel-fronting (Umlaut). In this respect the verb fal (a typical representative of IE $^+$i̯ō) differs from dal (F. Apophonic Type below), and from rrah, rraf (a typical representative of IE types in $^+$-skō).

	Pres.	Impf.	Aorist	Pres.Subj.	Impf.Subj.	Optative
Sg.1	fal	falshe,falja	fala	të fal	të falshe,	falsha
2	fal	falshe,falje	fale	të falsh	etc.	falshë
3	fal	falte	fali	të fali,falë		faltë
Pl.1	falim	falshim,falnim	falëm	të falim,etc.		falshim
	falni	falshit,falnit	falët			falshi
	falin	falshin,falnin	falën			falshin

Imperative: fal ; falni. Pp. falë, falur

From the above it will be seen that verbs of type 'fal' present the most 'regular' pattern of conjugation, with no internal vowel modifications . A variant form is presented by monosyllabic verbs ending in a velar(-k , -g, or -h). Here the aorist 3sg. ends in -u as in flaku 'he flung',lagu 'he wetted', but N dialects still preserve the ending -i (as for fal) in this type of verb. A variant Aorist 1sg. falshë for fala is sometimes met with, similarly tundshë for tunda.

F. Thematic Type: rrah 'beat'. IE $^{+}$-sk̂ō

	Pres.	Impf.	Aorist	Pres.Subj.	Impf.Subj.	Opt.
Sg.1	rrah	rrihshe	rraha	të rrah	të rrihshe,	rrahsha
2	rreh	rrihshe	rrahe	të rrahsh	etc.	rrahshë
3	rreh	rrihte,etc.	rrahu,etc.	të rrahë,etc.		rrahtë,
Pl.1	rrahim					etc.
2	rrihni					
3	rrahin					

Imperative: rrah (sic); rrihni.

Variants: Central Geg (Elbasan, Tirana) rraf, rref, rrifni,etc. Optative: rrafsha, 3s. rraftë. Pres. subj.të rrahish & të rrahësh = të rrahsh.

Note on rrah(rraf). This form differs from type fal only in the vowel-changes as shown above. The key to the change, applicable also throughout the Mediopassive (see below), is seen in the 2.pl. of the present tense, which also normally supplies the vowel of the imperative 2sg., but rrah is an exception (the expected form would be $^{+}$rrih,$^{+}$rrif). A Northern dialectal form of the aorist 3sg. and the present subjunctive 3sg. tolerates -i after -h and other velars (k,g), viz. rrahi, të rrahi. The modification to -u of most dialects applies only to the 3rd. sg. aorist, and is of course analogous to the variant definite article-suffix in -u as used after -k,-g, and -h in masculine nouns.

Like rrah (rraf) are fsheh (mpshef), 2pl. pres. fshihni (mpshifni), but with 2sg. imperative fshih (mpshif) 'hide' ; and the present-based tenses and moods of njoh (njof), 2pl. njihni (njifni) (but aor. njoha, njova and njofta according to dialect) 'know' , and the present-based tenses and moods of shoh (shof), 2pl. shihni (shifni) (irregular aorist of type C : pashë, pe, pa; pl.pamë,etc.) 'see', and others. The past participle has the vocalism of the 1st. person present: rrahë (T rrahur, CG rrafë and archaic rráfunë); njohë (T njohur and njojtur, CG njoftë, , archaic: njoftunë), but for shoh 'I see' the pp. is based on the aorist, viz. pá, pamë, archaic pámunë, T parë. The verbs shpreh 'express', shkreh 'release', and some others are unaffected by internal vowel-change and are therefore indistinguishable from type E (fal, page 130). The aor.3sg. is respectively shprehu and shkrehu.

In the verbs which follow (types G and H) there is a change of internal vowel in the aorist. This archaic feature of Albanian is reflected in other Indo-European languages, and is discussed in The Etymological Background below. Apart from the aorist, these verbs behave exactly as type F (rrah).

G. Thematic type: dal 'go out'. IE $^{+}$dhali̯ō

Present tense: dal, del, del; pl. dalim, dilni, dalin. Otherwise like F (rrah) except for the aorist: dolla, dolle, dolli and duell (T duall);pl. duellëm, duellët, duellën (T duallmë, dualltë, duallnë) with the variant forms dola,dole,duel,etc. beside 3sg. doli. Only two verbs are of this type; the other is marr 'take', 2pl. merrni and mirrni, with analogous internal vowel throughout the imperfect,etc. according to dialect, but with aorist mora, more, mori and muer (T muar); pl. muerëm (T muarmë),etc. A larger class is represented by type H.

H. Thematic type: heq (hjek) 'draw, pull'. IE $^{+}$su̯elkō

Verbs ending in -k and -g palatalize the 2pl. present tense to -q- and —gj- respectively whenever the internal vowel is changed. Thus heq (N hjek),2pl. hiqni (all dialects). For this, the Greek- and Italo-Albanian dialects have helq, 2pl. hilqni. Similarly pjek 'I bake',2pl.piqni; djeg 'I burn', 2pl. digjni (and, by unvoicing: diqni in the Tosk dialects). Contrast thek 'toast' (type E:fal), 2pl. thekni. The aorist alone differentiates verbs of this type from those of type F (rrah).Here the internal vowel is -o- throughout, but, unlike verbs of "regular"pattern a preceding velar is always palatalized, thus : hoqa 'I pulled' , poqa 'I baked', dogja 'I burned', pl. hoqëm,etc. The Tosk dialects occasionally truncate the 3sg. aorist, thus hoq = hoqi 'he drew'.

I. Thematic type with extension in -a-/-e-;
-s- alternating with -t-. IE $^{+}$-á-:
thërrás 'call,shout'.

Present tense: thërrás, thërrét, thërrét ; thërrásim, thërrisni beside thërritni, thërrásin. The form of the 2nd. person plural sets the pattern for the imperfect, while the pres. subjunctive is të thërrás, të thërrásish, të thërrási and të thërrasë; pl. as present indicative. The imperfect forms vary according to dialect: thërrisshe, thërritshe, thërritja, thërrisja and thërrisnja, and analogously throughout the singular and plural. The distinctive feature of verbs of this type is the occurrence of the radical form in the aorist (in this instance thirra, alternating with a re-formed analogous aorist embodying the -t- element of the present tense, viz. thërrita, both forms being conjugated as fal, see type E above). This in turn sets the pattern for the optative, and for the pp. (thirrë, archaic thírrunë, T thirrur beside thërritë, thërritunë, thërritur), as well as for the mediopassive (see below).

Verbs of this type frequently represent noises, cf. bërtás, aor.brita and bërtita 'shout'; gërshás, aor. grisha and gërshita 'invite'; gërthás, aor. gërthita (radical form not recorded) 'shout' ; këlthás, aor. klitha and këlthita 'shout'; pëllás, aor: palla and pëllita 'bray,bellow'.Usage is unsettled with regard to the imperative, but the following forms occur: bërtít! grish! gërthit! klith! thirr! Similarly kërcás, aorist : krisa and kërcita, imperative kris and kërcít, pp. krisë, krisur, kërcitur 'bang, crack'; pëlcás, aor. plasa and pëlcita, imperat. plas, pp. plasë, plasur beside pëlcitë, pëlcitur 'bang, explode'. The form flas, aor. fola'speak' impv.fol, pl. flisni and flitni, pp. folë, folur has no alternative form with^{+}-ta in the aorist. The optative, as elsewhere, is formed on the aorist basis.

A large number of verbs in which -s- alternates with -t- are of Slavonic origin, but in these there is no vowel alternation. Such are: godís, 2.3sg. godít; pl. godísim, godisni and goditni, godisin; aorist godita; pp. goditë, goditur 'strike'. Similarly porosís 'order', pregatís 'prepare', shetís 'walk', reflecting the i-stem of the Slavonic languages. Similarly trokás (without internal vowel change), aor. trokata , pp. trokatë, trokatur 'knock'; plevás, aor. plevata, pp. plevatë, plevátur 'swim, float'. Some Tosk dialects extend the -t to the 1st. person singular of the present tense (godít 'I strike, build') , but this practice is not general. Here belong also a number of words of indeterminate origin: brohorís, aor. brohorita 'cheer' (perhaps onomatopoeic, cf. Fr. brouhaha), and the apparently IE compound $^{+}$përshtás, 2.3s. përshtát,aor. përshtata, pp. përshtatë, përshtatur 'adapt'.

The -s-/-t- alternation also applies to those words believed to be of IE origin in which the radical ends in -t, cf. mpshtes, pshtes, aorist : mpshteta, pshteta 'support'; tres, aor. treta 'melt, dissolve, digest' ; mbys, aor. mbyta 'choke, drown,tr.', etc. A small group displays alterof vowel -e- to -i- as between the present singular on the one hand, and the 2.pl. present, and the imperfect and aorist on the other. Thus: pres, 2.3sg. pret, 2pl. prisni and pritni, aor.prita, pp. pritë, pritur 'wait' ; similarly shes, aor. shita 'sell' ; zbres, aor. zbrita 'lower , take down'.

Verbs of type I (-s-/-t- alternants) are not to be confused with a fairly small number of monosyllables (mainly IE) ending in -s throughout. These are entirely "regular" (type:fal), and present no special features. Such are nis, aor. nisa, pp. nisë, nisur 'start (tr.), begin'; sos, aorist sosa, pp. sosë, sosur 'finish, exhaust'. Polysyllables of this type almost entirely derive from Greek or Turkish (the latter ending in -dis or -tis), cf. pajís and pajós 'endow, equip'; stolís 'decorate' ; storás'set up'; pllakós 'strike, attack'; qendís 'sew (as needlework)', and from Tk. bastís 'sack, ransack', kurdís 'wind up, fix, repair',etc.

J. Diathematic types. IE $^{+}$-āi̯ō,-ēi̯ō,etc.

(primary open monosyllabic radicals; extended disyllabic radicals)
laj 'wash'; blej 'buy'; shkrij 'melt' ; çoj 'send,take' ; shkruej 'write' & thyej 'break'

	Pres.	Impf.	Aorist	Pres.Subj.	Impf.Subj.	Optative
Sg.1	laj	lajshe,lanja	lava	të laj	të lajshe,	lafsha
2	lan	lajshe,lanje	lave	të lajsh	etc.	lafshë
3	lan	lante	lau	të lajë		laftë
Pl.1	lajmë	lajshim,lanim	lamë	të lajmë,		lafshim
2	lani	lajshit,lanit	latë	etc.		lafshi
3	lajnë	lajshin,lanin	lanë			lafshin

Imperative: laj, lani; Pp. lá (archaic lamë), T larë,(Buz.Rada: latë,obs.)
It will be noted that the aorist plural of laj 'wash' coincides with the aorist plural of lâ (Type D, open monosyllabic radicals, page 129). Verbs with diathematic -e- and -i- behave as laj:

blej, 2.3.sg. blen; pl. blejmë,etc.; impf. blejshe and blenja,etc.; aor. bleva, bleve, bleu; pl. blemë,etc.; opt. blefsha,etc. Pp. ble (blemë),T. blerë

shkrij; aor. shkriva, shkrive, shkriu,etc.(but see K: Diathematic nasal types). An obsolete pp. shkritë survives as an adjective 'molten'.

The remaining forms of this type undergo small modifications as follow:

çoj, 2.3.sg. çon; aor. çova, çove, *çoi*; pl. *çuem*, *çuet*, *çuen* (T: çuam , çuat, çuan); opt. çofsha,etc. ; pp. *çue* (archaic: *çuem*),T çuar.Impv.ço! shkruej, T shkruaj; impf. shkrojshe, shkronja,etc.; aor. shkrova,shkrove, shkroi(and archaic shkrou Buz.) beside (T only) shkruajta, -e, -i; pp. shkrue (archaic shkruem), T shkruar. Sheperi(p.102) aor. also shkrojta. *thyej*, also (N) *thej* ;impf. thejshe, T thyeja,$^{+}$thyenja ; aor. theva,theve,*theu*; pl. thyem, thyet, thyen; opt. thefsha,etc. ; imperat. thej, pl. thyeni; pp. thye (ardhaic thyem), T thyer. (An obsolete participle thyet occurs as an adjective in N. Albanian:'broken').

Verbs of type J include a very large number of verbs with extension in -oj (conjugated like *çoj*), an extension which is still productive. Cf. the denominatives *punoj* 'I work ', from *punë* 'work', ; *vendoj* 'place' fr. *vend* ; *lejoj* 'permit' from *lejë* 'permission'. Beside these a number of verbs in -*oj* derive from Latin originals, cf. *ndërtoj* 'I build' (from a Latin prototype $^{+}$indirectare), *mësoj* 'I teach, learn' (from a Latin prototype $^{+}$invitiare), many of which have counterparts in modern Rumanian. A few verbs in -*oj* are without a simplex, and appear to derive from some form of protoglossic speech: *shikoj* 'I see', *hetoj* 'I enquire'.

The alternative aorist in -ta, -te, -ti occurs most commonly in verbs of type *blej* (now the accepted form of this word as against earlier *ble*,apparently of one-time athematic type D (vete)). It has, however, no record of an aorist in $^{+}$-ta, hence its inclusion in the above list. Otherwise *vej* 'I weave' , aor. vejta ; pp. vejtur (Tosk only), but *ziej*, *zjej* 'I boil,tr.' (aor. zieva, zjeva) is of type blej, with adjustments for the pp. as under type D : vojta, vajta, pp. 128,129 . The optative of vej is not recorded. A possible reason for these alternative forms of aorist is given in The Etymological Background below, where also the a-stem types *maj*, aor. majta, pp. majt-un,-ur 'fatten,feed' and *mbaj*, aor.mbajta, pp. mbajt-un,-ur 'hold, keep' are discussed.

K. Diathematic nasal types with Tosk -r- for Geg -n- in the aorist (type bâj,bëj 'do,make')

In verbs of this type Geg -ân-,-âj- alternate with Tosk -ën-, -ëj-,where â/ë reflect historic a/o with added length, resulting in a trimoric vowel (see pages 40 & 41). Cf. Albanian *dhâmb*, T *dhëmb* 'tooth' and the "acute"tonicity of Polish ząb, with loss of final -ŭ as seen in OCS zǫbŭ.

	Pres.	Impf.	Aorist	Pres.Subj.	Impf.Subj.
Sg.1	bâj,bëj	bâjshe,bënja	bâna,bëra	të bâj,bëj	të bâjshe,
2	bân,bën	bâjshe,bënje	bâne,bëre	etc.	bënja,
3	bân,bën	bânte,bënte	bâni,bëri		etc.
Pl.1	bâjmë, bëjmë	bâjshim,bënim	bâmë,bëmë		
2	bâni, bëni	etc.	etc.		
3	bâjnë, bëjnë				

Optative
bâfsha,bëfsha
bâfshë,bëfshë
bâftë, bëftë,
etc.

Imperative: bân,bën; pl. bâni,bëni; pp. bâ (archaic bâmë), T bërë. Historic -n- is preserved in Tosk when followed, now or historically,by unstressed -i-, $^{+}$-i- (as in anë 'side' fr.$^{+}$antis, cf. Eng. end; janë 'they are', from $^{+}$ésn̥ti, cf. Doric entí, Hittite asanci ; qen 'dog', a LW from Latin canis). The -r- in Tosk bëri 'he made' is due to analogy. Like bâj,bëj is vrâj (sytë), aor. vrâna (sytë) 'frown', T vrëj, but with pp. vrëjtur.

Similarly shîj, shij 'winnow' , aor. shîna, shira ; pp. shî-më, shirë ; ngîj, ngij 'sate' , aor. ngîna, ngira, pp. ngî-më, ngirë ; ngrîj, ngrij 'freeze', aor: ngrîna, ngrira beside ngriva (see Type J above) ;shkrîj, shkrij 'thaw, melt', aor. shkrîna, shkrira beside shkriva (type J) ; thîj, thij 'turn grey(of hair,tr.)' , aor. thîna, thira ; përhîj (Geg) 'spread ashes over..' ; aor. përhîna ; prîj 'precede' ; aor. prîna,etc. Similarly përvûj 'humiliate' (Geg only), aor. përvûna and përvûjta, pp. përvû-më, përvûjt-un.

Adjectival forms representing archaic participles occur in i vrântë, T i vrërët 'overcast, sullen, scowling'; i thîtë and i thinjët 'grey-haired' ; i përhîtë 'covered with ash'; i përvûtë 'humble'(16th and 17th century , now i përvûjtë) beside i përvûmë;i ngrîtë 'frozen';i shkrîtë 'molten',etc.

Note on dërsij, mërdhij

These two Tosk forms are represented in CGeg by dërsif 'I sweat', and by mërdhif 'I feel cold' respectively. These clearly inchoative presents display their root-form in the aorist (cf. Type I above), viz: *dirsa*, beside *dërsita* 'I sweated', pp. *dirsun*, T *dërsitur* ; *mardha*, beside *mërdhifa* (N *mërdhiha*) and *mërdhita* (T) 'I felt cold', pp. *mardhë* (archaic *mardhun*),T *mërdhitur* (cf. OCS mrazŭ 'frost'). The present tense in -*if*, -*ih* reflects Latin -īscō in Latin patiscō, calliscō ; Gk. arar-ískō , heur-iskō, oid-ískō, and (with uncertain vocalism: -e- or -i-) Hittite ar-iskami, nanniskami,etc.

The Admirative Mood

This mood is peculiar to Albanian and Rumanian (see page 125).The present form is a compound of kam and the infinitive/past participle in a truncated form:

pas-kam 'oh! I have' ; qen-kam 'oh! I am'; fal-kam 'see! I forgive',etc. The past forms corresponding to these are:

pas-kam pasë (paskam patur) 'oh! I had, I have had'; pas-kam qenë 'oh ! I was, have been'; pas-kam falë (paskam falur) 'oh! I forgave, have forgiven!. A pluperfect occurs in the form pas-kishe pasë, pas-kishe qenë, pas-kishe falë (... falur) 'see! I had had',etc., a formula which is sometimes contracted to paskëshe,etc.

The Mediopassive

The Mediopassive combines the function of the Reflexive and the Passive. Thus *lidh* (type :*fal*) 'I bind'; *lídhem* 'I bind myself, am bound'. The stress falls invariably on the root-syllable of monosyllabic radicals , and on the extended syllable (the characteristic stem-vowel) of disyllables and polysyllables. This stressed vowel is that of the second person plural of the present tense active, the form that sets the pattern for the mediopassive as a whole. Thus

Type A(2)(kam, 2pl. kini), mp. kíhem 'am held, am considered'(për:as)

Type D: (lâ,lë, 2pl.lêni, lini), mp. lêhem, líhem 'am left, am allowed' (-ê- or -i- throughout according to dialect).

Type E: (fal, 2pl. falni), mp. fálem 'present myself, am greeted, pray'

Type F: (rrah, rraf, 2pl. rrihni,rrifni), mp. rríhem, rrífem 'am beaten, struck'

Type G: (marr, 2pl. merrni,mirrni), mp. mérrem, mírrem 'am taken,etc.'

Type H: (heq, 2pl. hiqni), mp. híqem 'am drawn, withdraw'

Type I: (thërrás, 2pl. thërrisni, thërritni), mp. thërrísem, thërrítem 'am called'

Type J: (laj, 2pl.lani), mp. láhem 'wash myself, am washed'

Type K: (bâj,bëj, 2pl.bâni,bëni), mp. bâhem, bëhem 'become'

The Inflections of the Mediopassive

Pres.Ind.	Impf.	Aorist	Pres.Subj.	Impf.Subj.
Sg.1 falem	faleshe,T falesha	u-fala	të falem	të faleshe,-a
falesh	faleshe	u-fale	as	as impf.
falet	falej,falesh	u-fal	pres.ind.	w.të
falemi	faleshim	u-falëm	w.të	
faleni	faleshit	u-falët		
falen	faleshin	u-falën		

Optative	Imperative
u-falsha	
u-falshë	fal-u
u-faltë	
u-falshim	faluni, fali,falni-u
u-falshi	
u-falshin	

Note 1. An occasional (Tosk) sigmatism in the aorist 1sg. (patshë, for pata 'I had') recurs in the Mediopassive: u-patshë, otherwise like fal. Similarly u-falshë, u-goditshë, u-lashë, u-gëzuash,etc. The prefix u 'self' is nowadays commonly written as a separate word: u fala,etc. but this leads to some confusion with the weak personal pronoun u 'to them', see page 115, and even with u 'to you',ibid. (!).

2. An alternative imperfect (and impf.subj.) to faleshe occurs as u-falshe, 3 sg. u-falte (imp.subj.t'u-falshe,etc.) by a substitution of active forms with the prefix u-.

3. Final -i or -u disappears from the 3rd. sg. aorist as in u-fal, u-la, u-lag,etc., and for verbs with extension -oj and -uej (-uaj), the 3rd. sing. aorist ending -oi is converted to -ue (T -ua).

4. There is some fluctuation between the mp. of thyej, viz. théhem and thýhem 'am broken'. The mediopassive of thom,them is irregular,viz. thúhem, 3sg. thuhet 'it is said'.

5. Nasal types (bâj,bëj) lose the final element -ni,-ri in the mediopassive: u-bâ (T u-bë) 'was made, became'.

6. Type *shkruej* (*shkruaj*) forms the mediopassive with the internal vowel -*u*- throughout: *shkrúhem* ,etc.

7. Anomalous types such as *bie*, aor.*rashë*, *re*, *ra* 'strike, fall', imperative: bjer, pl. bini , and *bie*, aor. *prûna*(T:-ra)'bring'behave according to no set rules. The present tense 1.2.3. *bie*, pl. *bijmë*, *bini*, *bijnë* for both verbs does not reflect the -*r*- of the mp. *bírem*. , where (as in the imperative *bjer*! 'strike, fall, bring') the -*r*- has a historical background.

8. A number of mediopassive verbs differ in meaning from their active counterparts:

due (*dua*), 2.3.sg. don; pl. duem (duam), doni, duen(duan) 'wish'; impf. dojshe and donja, 3sg. donte ; aor.desha,-e,-i (and deshta,-e,-i); pp. dashtë, T dashur 'wish'; mp. dúhem 'I must', usu. dúhet,impers. 'must'w. the corresponding subjunctive. From this word derives the invariable *do* 'will', forming the future and conditional (= Rumanian va, Gk.tha). It is also compounded with adverbs and pronouns to generalize the sense,cf. kur-do 'whenever' (= Rum. cînd-va), cili-do 'whoever' (= Rum.care-va).

lus, 2.3.sg. lut 'pray' (type as on page 133, last paragraph); mp. lútem 'I beg, ask (a favour)'

ha 'eat'(see page 129) 'eat'; aor. hângra,T hëngra, pp. hângër, ngrënë ; mp. háhem me 'quarrel with' (cf. Gk. trōgomai me,id.; Rum. a să mînca,id.)

ngjis, 2.3.sg. ngjit, aor. ngjita 'stick'; ngjítem (w.dat.) 'climb'.

mbledh 'gather', 2pl. mblidhni ; aor. mblodha (type heq,p. 132);mp.mblídhem 'assemble,intr.'; 3sg. mblidhet 'gathers, festers , shrinks'.

siell, *sjell* 'bring' (N 'turn'), aor. solla ; mp. síllem 'turn round'.

bâj,*bëj* 'do, make' ; mp. bâhem, bëhem 'become'.

drídhem (1. mp. of *dredh* 'twist, turn', type *heq* ,2. mp. of *dridh* 'cause to tremble'), (1)'twist, turn,intr.'; (2) 'shudder'.

mund 'can; defeat' ; múndem 'strive'

përpjek, aor. përpoqa (type heq, hjek) 'strike, meet'; përpiqem 'try'.

9. The infinitive and participle forms of the mediopassive are formed with the particle *u*: me u-falë 'to excuse oneself, be excused,etc.'; tue u-falë (T duke u falur) 'being excused,etc.'; perfect cpd. u-kam falë, T u kam falur 'have been excused,etc.'

No separate noun or adjective derivatives can be formed from the mp.

The History of the Verbal Endings.

The Present Tense

The verb 'to be' is represented in Albanian by the athematic forms set out on page 126:

jam 'I am' : Skt. ásmi : Av. ahmi: OPer. amiy : Per. am : Hitt. esmi : Arm. em : Myc. e- : Gk. eimí : Dor. Aeol. emmí : Lat.sum : Osc. súm : MIr. isam : W wyf : Br. un : Go. im : OE eom : OSw. æm : OCS jesmi & Com.Sl. : OLith. esmi : Latv. esmu. IE $^{+}$esmi.

Similarly je, âsht (T është), fr. IE^{+}essi, $^{+}$esti (for Alb. â/ë fr. trimoric $^{+}$e- due to loss of final -i, see page 41,para.2)

The 1.sg.pl. jemi 'we are' reflects both the vocalism and stressing of Doric eimés, cf. Att. esmén, Hom. eimén. The stated or implied vocalism is reflected in (zero-grade) Skt. smaḥ : Av. mahi : OCz. jsme (R-grade) as against (full-grade) OCS jesme (Lavrovskiĭ), jesmŭ (Leskien), cf. the R-grade vowel a- in Hitt. $^{+}$asweni 'we are',$^{+}$asasteni 'you are', asanci 'they are'(contrast the vocalism of Hitt. esmi, 3sg. esci). OLi. like OCS, has e- throughout: ésme, éste (modern ẽsame, ẽsate) 'we are, you are'. Latin preserves full-grade only in estis (2pl.),otherwise Z-grade sumus, 3pl. sunt : OCS sǫtĭ : OCz. jsú,etc. The theory that of two consecutive $^{+}$-e-s, the originally stressed vowel is converted to -i is confirmed in the Albanian LW bisédë 'conversation' , from OCS beseda (Srb. bésjeda), hence Alb. jémi < $^{+}$esmés.

An important feature of the 1.pl. inflection is that it is represented in Albanian by -mi in the athematic verbs jemi 'we are', kemi 'we have', and thomi, themi 'we say', as well as in vemi 'we go', whose singular forms are anomalous:see type vete(m) above . This ending derives from a stressed IE $^{+}$-més, and is found in association with other verbs in the Italo-Albanian dialects, viz. dimi 'we know' (Variboba,Santori), himi 'we enter' (Variboba), rrimi 'we sit' (Santori), and even nderomi 'we honour' (for Alb. nderojmë, fr. Lat. honorā-). This feature apparently does not extend to Sicily, where we find rrojëm 'we live', këndojëm 'we sing' (fr. Lat. cantā-), and mbëlijëm 'we shut' (= Alb. mbyllim). This indicates that the ending -mi was once common to all athematic verbs in the 1.pl., but it has become replaced by -më from the thematic forms, hence Alb. dijmë 'we know', hyjmë 'we enter', rrijmë'we sit',etc. , from an unstressed IE +-mes, cf. Dor. ékhomes :OCz. beřeme, etc., the characteristic ending of the thematic verb.

Of some difficulty is the determination of the source of the inflection of the 2.pl. *-ni*. This ending is not reflected in any of the "traditional" IE languages such as Skt.,Gk.,Balto-Slavonic, Germanic & Celtic, but does reappear in Hittite. Here, however, the inflection, if such it is, appears to have been added to the traditional ending of the 2. pl. as it is found in Greek: -te : Skt. -tha : Balto-Slav. -te,etc. Thus Hitt. acaste-ni 'you eat', beside eicate-ni,id. , eipte-ni 'you take' , ekute-ni, ekwate-ni 'you drink',etc. Since the same fragment(-ni) appears also in the 1.pl. ipwe-ni 'we take', akue-ni 'we drink',and atwe-ni, edwa-ni 'we eat', the fragment would seem to be an expletive . This notion is reinforced by the fact that the Albanian 2pl. imperative not only contains the same inflection as the present indicative, but is capable of detachment as an enclitic. Thus the Tosk Bible translation : *bi-ma-ni* beside *m'i bini* ('bring it to me' beside 'bring them to me') illustrates the freedom with which the ending can be used in this mood;cf. also the mediopassive *fal-u-ni* beside *falni-u*.

The form of the 3pl. *janë* reflects an IE +ésn̥ti as implied for Epic éasi beside Dor. entí, the initial cluster *ja-* representing IE +-e- by compensatory lengthening due to loss of+-s- (cf. *mjaltë* 'honey' ,fr. IE +melit: Hitt. melit : Gk. méli, with loss of+-i- , and *zjarr* 'fire',fr. IE +gu̯hermos : Gk. thermós beside thérmē and the Albanian variant *zjerm*, with loss of +-m- in the first form). Hittite asanci, Skt. santi; Av. həñti, Arm. en, OCS sǫtĭ, and OCz. jsú represent various reductions of a variously stressed formula +esonti. For loss of final weak+-ti in Albanian, cf. *anë* 'side', fr.+anti-.

The present forms of the verb *kam* present some difficulty. The fact that the 2. and 3.sg. forms *ke* and *ka* respectively reflect the *aorist* 2. and 3.sg. of verbs displaying sigmatism in the 1.sg., such as *lashë*, 2.3sg. *le*,*la* 'left' ; *dhashë*, 2.3sg. *dhe*, *dha* 'gave' ; *thashë*,2.3sg.*the*, *tha* 'said', and *pashë*, 2.3.sg. *pe*,*pa* 'saw' lends colour to the theory that in *kam* 'I have' we are concerned with an "aorist-present" type resembling Gk. égnōn (2.3.sg. égnōs,égnō) in the sense 'I understand',cf.

the English usage 'I have got' (= 'I have') and the perfect-present of Skt. type veda 'I know' :Gk. oĩda : archaic English I wot : Ger. weiss. Against this militates the fact that the plural endings are identical w. those of jam, i.e. they are of athematic present origin. The uncertain etymology of kam makes further enlightenment impossible from this source (G.Meyer's guess : IE +khabhmi is untenable; IE +kap- 'seize' is represented in Albanian kap,id.).

The word thom, them represents an IE type +k̂ēsmi (k̂esmi) as seen in Skt. śāsmi 'order, teach': Av. sasmi 'order, speak'; cf. OPer. a-thaham 'I said' : Arm. asem, əsem 'I speak, say, tell' (a variant of this verb occurs in Skt. śáṃsāmi 'recite, report,etc.' , a thematic verb;cf. Av. sāsmi 'teach' : Tokh. känts- 'admit' ; Lat. cēnseō 'consider'; and OCS sętĭ, sęti and sętŭ 'he says'). The 2sg. thue, T thua represents an IE +k̂ēssi, with Albanian compensatory -ue-, -ua- for -o- due to loss of +-s-, cf. muej, muaj 'month' fr. +mēns, cf. Gk. mḗn & mḗs,id. For the 3. sing. thotë, sole example of an active 3sg. in -të, cf. OPer. thātiy 'says' , IE +k̂ēsti. The athematic 1.pl. thomi, themi derives from a type +k̂ĕsmés to account for the ending -mi; the 3.pl. thonë derives from k̂ēsn̥ti. This verb is the best preserved of all the athematic types in Albanian.

The verb vétem, vete 'I go' is problematical. The form vétem is characteristic of the conservative dialect of Elbasan, but displays the equally problematical ending -m of kam 'I have'. The forms with -t- occur only in the singular, which renders Meyer's etymology (qua +u̯oit- + jam<+esmi) untenable. Nor is it a Latin loanword. If the primary form was vete in the 1st. person singular, -m was added by analogy from the other athematics listed above, and the fragment -te would be an adverbial expletive in the sense of 'away', cf. Alb. te 'where', as prep.with nom. 'at,by' : Tokh. tā 'whither,where' : MHG duo 'then' : OCS ta 'then, so,and'(ta-če 'then, thence'): Slovene tá 'hence': Slovak ta 'there' , etc. Cf. also Per. tā, as prep. 'to, until'. All from an IE type +tō.

The 1.pl. vemi appears to represent a type +u̯eimés 'we go' , cf.Skt. (with zero-vocalism in the plural) vimaḥ 'we go' (vemi 'I go'): Hittite we-, 3sg. wici 'he comes', 3pl. wanci & wenci : Skt. vyánti :Alb. venë. IE +u̯ei-, u̯i-. For the aorist vojta, vajta, see below. According to Boisacq the element +u̯ei- is present in Homeric eísato 'he went'.

The open monosyllabic radicals are of two kinds: those with a fixed internal vowel, and those that undergo vowel fronting from a to e and i. The form *lâ* 'I let, leave, allow' is of the second type, but has been used as the model for this type of verb, since all others, including *ha* 'I eat', *pi* 'I drink', *di* 'I know' *vê* 'I put', *zâ* 'I take',vary in some respect from the expected pattern, notably in the aorist. This fact renders them all "irregular" in terms of conventional grammar.

The Tosk reflex of Geg *â* and Geg *ê* is *ë*. This fact obscures the essential vowel-fronting that takes place in the 2. and 3.sg. of type *lâ*. The reason for this vowel-fronting, and the related fronting to -i- in the 2.pl.,is obscure, but an IE formula such as $^{+}$ladnō, 2.3.sg.$^{+}$ladnesi, $^{+}$ladneti would account for this. Apart from the common Germanic adjective represented by Goth. lats 'sluggish, slow,late',etc. and the related verb-type lētan 'let' there is nothing to support this formula.

Other verbs of this type, i.e. verbs with no distinguishing inflexion in the singular of the present tense, are equally obscure in origin,and those with plausible equations in other languages (such as *di* 'know':Skt dhī-, in Vedic dīdhīye 'I think': Skt. dhyāmi,id.; *pi* 'drink' : Skt.pī-: OCS pijǫ,etc. beside Gk. pīnō, fut. píomai: Lith. pyju and pynu 'soak'; *ha*'eat',cf. Skt. khādāmi, khāde; *vê* 'put' : Tokh. was, wäs 'give':Hitt. wasmi 'sell' ; *zâ* 'take, seize': Skt. hanmi,etc.) do not give clear indications of their typology, thematic or athematic.

The thematic forms can be identified by well-defined cognates in IE languages. They are of two kinds, (1) those without iotacism, (2) those with iotacism. The latter represented prehistorically an intermittent aspect. Of the forms without iotacism, those with "Ablaut" (internal vowel change in the aorist) from -*e*-/-*je*- to -*o*- are also subject to vowel change in the 2.pl. present indicative, a formula which sets the pattern for the imperfect tenses and the mediopassive (*rrjedh* 'flow' ; 2pl. pres. *rridhni* ; aor.*rrodha*,-*e*,-*i* : Skt. vrájāmi 'go': Go. wrikan : OHG rëchan 'go to meet, pursue' : Du. wrikken 'move, shake': OE wrecan, wreocan 'advance',etc.; *vjedh* 'steal'; 2pl. *vidhni*; aor. *vodha*,-*e*,-*i* : Skt. váhāmi 'carry, carry off',etc.: Av. vazāmi 'lead': Cypr. wékhō : Lat. vehō : Go. ga-wigan 'move' : OHG wëgan : OE wegan 'bring,bear' :

OCS vezǫ 'convey': Lith. vežu,id.).

Iotacism in the present tense is not peculiar to any one IE language. Thus the Greek cognate of *pjek* 'bake, cook, ripen', 2pl. *piqni*,aor.*poqa*, -*e*,-*i* is (according to dialect) péssō, péttō, péptō, all indicating a formula +pequ̯i̯ō as against Albanian *pjek*, OCS pekǫ and Skt. 3s. pačati,indicating a formula +pequ̯ō. The two Albanian verbs showing alternation of -*a*- with -*o*- (cf. English take:took, and German fahren:fuhr), have an implied iotacism in the present tense, viz. *dal*, 2pl. *dilni* , aor. *dolla* 'go out' : Gk. thallō 'sprout', from IE+dhali̯ō, and *marr*, 2pl. *mirrni*, *merrni*, aor. *mora* 'take' : OHG marrjan, merren 'check,hinder' : OSax. merrian,id. : OE mierran,id. : Du. marren 'delay, anchor', from a type+marsi̯ō. Iotacism also occasionally arises in verbs with a vowel alternation -*e*-/-*je*- and -*o*-, cf. *vjerr*, 2pl. *virrni*, aor. *vora* 'hang' : Gk. a-eírō 'lift', respectively from +su̯eri̯ō and +sm̥-su̯eri̯ō ; *vjel*, 2pl. *vilni*, aor. *vola* 'pluck (grapes)' : Lith. veliù 'full (wool), Latv. veļu,id. (with uncertain consonantism in Lat. vellō 'tug'), from a type+u̯eli̯ō,etc. A Geg verb *përzâj*, aor. *përzûna* 'chase away' is an iotacised variant of *përzâ* (cf. *zâ* 'take,seize'), with zero- grade in the aorist, from a type+pro-gu̯honi̯ō, aor.+pro-gu̯hnou-. For the simplex, cf. Gk. theínō 'strike, dash', fr. +gu̯heni̯ō.

A large number of iotacised verbs are of type *fal*, itself an iotacised type, but of uncertain origin. Cf. *vesh*, aor. *vesha* 'clothe',with the consonantism of Gk. hésō 'shall clothe'; *lus*, aor. *luta* 'pray,beg': OCS ljuštǫ sę ,inf. ljutiti sę 'rave' ; *shterr* 'run dry, become sterile' cf. Gk. steĩros, beside steréō('sterile'; 'deprive'), deriving respectively from +u̯esi̯ō, +leuti̯ō and +steri̯ō.

There are no examples in Albanian of the nasal infix as a sign of a present act, alternating with a simplex without the nasal(characterising the aoristic forms) such as are found in Skt.,Lithuanian and Latin, sporadically in Hittite and Slavonic, cf. Skt. limpámi, rimpámi 'smear', pp. liptáḥ, riptáḥ : Lith. limpù, pp. líptas 'be sticky'; Latin rumpō 'break', pp.as adj. ruptus ; Hitt. linkami 'swear', pret. likta ; OCS lęgǫ, inf. lešti 'lie down',etc. Closest to this type of verbs are the Albanian verbs with -*m*- or -*n*- throughout, cf. *humb*, aor. *humba*, pp *humbun*,-*ur* 'lose', from a type +skm̥̄b- , cf. mp. *húmbet* 'subsides':Gk.(Hes.)

skambērízontes,mpl. 'slipping'; skambós 'bandylegged': Sw. skumpa 'hobble': MHG schumpfe 'trollop' ; *mund*, aor. *munda*, pp. *mundun-ur* 'defeat': Gk. manthánō 'learn'(?) from a type +mn̥̄dh- ;beside *mund* (2), *mundem*, mp. 'am able'; *tund* 'shake' : Lat. tundō 'beat',etc. ; *bind* 'persuade': Gk. cf. pithanós 'persuasive' (+bindh-: +bidh-); *ȇnd* 'weave'; *êndem*, aor. *uânda* 'wander' : Skt. átāmi, áṭāmi 'wander' : Gk. áttomai 'weave': MIr. étim 'clothe' (lit.'weave for') ; perhaps also OHG unda 'wave'. IE +n̥t-, the Albanian *ȇnd* representing a type +n̥ti̯ō, +n̥ti̯omoi; *trând* 'shake': Pol. trącić 'jolt' : R trutit’ 'bruise', from a type +tromt-, cf. Gk. tromētós 'trembling'; *dynd* 'move, stir, press, expel, shake, uproot': OIcel. dunn 'troop, drove, mass' ; dyntr 'crash' : OE dynt 'blow', Mod.to dunt 'to crack' (in firing oven) : Lith. dundù,ēti 'rumble, beat, thud':Latv. dundēt,id. IE +dhund-; Alb. type +dhundi̯ō to account for -*y*-.

Verbs in -*h* (Central Geg -*f*) are of various origin, but all have the internal vowel -i- in the 2.pl., whatever the vowel of the lst.sg. Thus *shoh*, *shof* 'I see', 2pl. *shihni*, *shifni* ; *rrah*,*rraf* 'I beat', 2pl.*rrihni*,*rrifni*; *ngreh*, *ngref* 'I raise', 2pl. *ngrihni*, *ngrifni*. The inchoative (inceptive-progressive) notion seems to be present in *leh*,*lef* 'I bark', cf. Gk. láskō, and in *njoh*, *njof* 'I know' , cf. Gk. gignōskō,but with an aberrant vocalism in Albanian (cf. +-ā- in Lat. gnāvus, gnārus , or +-ē- in OHG knāu : Eng. know). For *beh*, *bef* 'appear suddenly',cf.Gk. pháskō 'declare', Hom. pipháskō 'make appear'.

Verbs of type *thërrás* 'I call', *këllás* 'I bung'(aor. *kalla* and *këllita*) are of a type all but ignored in the traditional historical grammars. They represent a well-defined type here called intensive continuants, to distinguish them from the intensive static types represented by Gk. mímnō, tíktō : Lat. gignō, bibō, and the aoristic forms cecīdī , pepulī, Gothic haíhald, faífāh,etc. Intensive continuants are expressed by the radical extended by an element +-ā̆- (+-āi̯ō, -āi̯esi,etc.)as it appears in such words as Gk. damáō 'tame', pēdáō 'jump, stamp'(: OCS padajǫ 'fall'),skirtáō 'jump', Latin domō,-āre, secō,-āre, tonō,-āre (with perfect forms in -uī distinguishing them from denominatives of type amāre).The supine forms often reflect Albanian vocalism (cf. domitum,tonitum and Alb. thërritë, pëllitë, këllitë,etc.) . Germanic examples of the intensive continuant are OHG zamōn 'to tame', machōn 'to make', and

Lithuanian has an example in riaumoju 'I roar'. The absence of a simplex is a frequent characteristic of this type of verb (Gk. geláō, eráō, Lat. vetāre, etc.).

Diathematic verbs are those with a characteristic stem-vowel in the extension that persists throughout the paradigm. In Albanian they frequently arise out of an iotacised form in which a prototype internal diphthong has been simplified (*laj* 'I wash', fr. lău̯i̯ō, cf. Lat. lavāre, Gk. loúō; *thaj* 'I dry', fr. k̂aui̯ō, cf. Gk. kaíō, adj. kautós; *çoj*' 'I take, send'(see page 187, a cpd. of) *qoj* 'I rouse': Lat. cieō, etc., or a consonant has disappeared (as in the Latin LW *rruej*, *rruaj* 'I shave', fr. Lat. rādere). The word *shkruej*, *shkruaj* is of ambiguous origin; formally a compound of *kruej*, *kruaj* 'I scratch', cognate with Gk. knáō, fut. knḗsō, id., the meaning 'write' seems to have been due to the influence of Latin scrībere. The great majority of verbs in *-oj* (IE^{+}-āi̯-) are denominative; many derive from Latin, and the ending is still productive. The word *shkoj* 'I go' betrays by its initial a foreign origin (since IE $^{+}$sk- > Alb. h-), and appears to be either from Gothic skēwjan 'go' (via Moesian?), or from a Germanic cognate of this word that has passed through Romance before reaching Albanian (cf. It. schivare 'flee', LW in Fr. esquiver 'flee, avoid', Eng. fr. Nor.Fr. eschew, from a Germanic prototype represented in Ger. scheuen). Normally the form in *-oj* reflects the first conjugation (-āre) of Latin loanwords as in *mungoj* (mancāre), *shpëtoj* (sospitāre), *këndoj* (cantāre) and many more, but occasionally there is non-agreement, as in *mënoj* (manēre), *rrnoj* beside *rroj* (remanēre), *trashgoj* (transigere), *ndëgjoj* (intelligere), *depërtoj* ($^{+}$dēpartīre), *deshtoj* (dēsistere), *dërmoj* (dirimere, but Rum. a dărîma), *fërgoj* (frigere), *mbuloj* (involvere, but Rum. învali beside învalui), *psoj* (patīri). Normally, however, the conjugation of the Latin original is reflected in Albanian: *urrej* (horrēre), *rrëfej* (referre), *ndëjej*, *ndëlej* (indulgēre), etc. The i-conjugation is represented by *prij* (praeire), *vij* (venīre). The Latin cluster -iā̆-re is represented in *shkëmbej* ($^{+}$excambiā̆re), and *gënjej* (ingeniāre).

Of some difficulty is the explanation of the n-element in the diathematic present tenses. Rather than assume the borrowing of the element from Greek (as seen in dēlónō 'explain', plērónō 'fulfil'), it would seem reasonable to postulate a parallel development in Greek and Albanian of this innovation, with spread (in Albanian) from the o-stems to the remaining diathematic forms by analogy.

More puzzling is the incidence of a t-stem to represent the Intensive Continuants of type *thërrás*. A number of Greek loanwords, more frequent in Tosk than in Geg, are to be found in -*s* throughout the conjugation, and are therefore "regular" like *fal*. They are derived from the Greek future form (G.Meyer) and include *qendís* 'sew (needlework)'(fr. Gk. kentḗsō), *qeverrís* 'govern' (kubernḗsō), *stolís* 'decorate'(stolísō), *lavós* 'wound' (labṓsō), *dhrosís* 'refresh' (drosísō), *pllakós* 'strike'(fr. plakṓsō), *ngalás* 'embrace' (agkaliásō), *përdhós* 'defile' ($^{+}$pordṓsō),etc. The extension -*os* is often added to words of non-Greek origin, as in *fjalós* 'talk' (Latin), *llafós* 'chat' (Turkish), *palós* 'fold' (IE).

The Diathematic Nasal type of verb is distinguished from non-nasal in Geg, where the radical vowel appears as *â*, *ê*, *î* or *û* throughout the present tense, and in Geg and Tosk, where the aorist ends in -*na*, -*ne*, and -*ni*, and in -*ra*, -*re*, -*ri* respectively, as against the non-nasal endings -*va*, -*ve*, -*u*. Borderline cases like *shkrîj*, *shkrij* 'melt,dissolve' have both sets of endings. The assumption of a prototype root with a final $^{+}$-n- is confirmed by etymology. Cf. *prâj*, aor. *prâna* (Geg)'cease' (a compound of *për*- and *anë* 'side'); *fshâj*, aor. *fshâna*'sigh, moan'(Geg) : Hes. apoksanā̃n 'suffer' (Alb. type $^{+}$apo-ksani̯ō) ; *përzâj*, aor.*përzûna* (Geg. Radical $^{+}$gu̯hen-,$^{+}$gu̯hon-,$^{+}$gu̯hn-), cf. Skt. pra-hanmi 'beat,kill' , OCS pro-gonjǫ 'chase away' ; *pëzâj*,*bzâj*, aor. *pëzâna*, *bzâna* 'din, make a noise'(Geg): Slovene po-zvonim 'ring (bell)' beside OCS (zero-grade) po-zvĭněti 'make a noise': Skt. ($^{+}$apa-) beside upa-hvaye 'call to, invite' : OCS po-zovǫ, po-zvati,id. IE radical $^{+}$ĝu̯hon-, ĝu̯hn-.

For *ndêj*, *ndej*, aor. *ndêna*, T *ndera* 'stretch', cf. Gk. enteínō, adj. entatós,id.fr. $^{+}$en-teni̯ō,$^{+}$-tn̥tós, and for *shîj*, *shij*, aor. *shîna*, *shira* 'thresh, scour, sweep', beside *fshîj*, *fshij* 'sweep, wipe', cf. Gk.ksū́ō, apo-ksū́ō 'scrape, scrape off'. Albanian type^{+}(apo)ksūni̯ō, beside^{+}-ksūi̯ō. For *ngrîj*, *ngrij*, aor. *ngrîna* and *ngriva* 'freeze, congeal', and *shkrîj*, *shkrij*, aor. *shkrîna* and *shkriva* 'thaw, melt', fr. $^{+}$en-,ek̂s-krūi̯ō, cf. Gk. kruós 'cold, freezing'. An archaic pp. survives as an adjective in *ngrîtë* 'frozen', *shkrîtë* 'thawed, melted'.

The Thematic Endings of the Present Tense

The thematic endings of the IE present are of two types, those without iotacism, and those with iotacism. The first represented a continuous act, the second, an intermittent act. This distinction has become largely obscured in the recorded languages, and the distinction is valid in the main only for verbs representing animal cries and the like. Sanskrit has a double formation for the root tras-, viz. trasāmi and trasyāmi 'fear, tremble', the two meanings being undifferentiated, though the first form clearly indicates the progressive notion of 'fear', the second the intermittent notion of'tremble'. Slavonic has several examples of this kind: češǫ 'comb the hair' : Hitt. kesai(mi),id. ; mažǫ 'smear'; rěžǫ 'cut' ; skačǫ 'jump' ; pišǫ 'write', 2.3sg. -eš, -etŭ,etc., all intermittent in character. Lithuanian has many examples of this type: kuliù 'thresh' , pliẽkiu 'thrash', griẽžiu 'gnash (the teeth)', klykiù 'shriek', krečiù 'rattle', juokiù'laugh'. Hittite examples include iskiyemi (beside iskami) 'anoint', ispariyemi 'trample' , and daliyami (sic) 'leave, let' . Greek examples include skaírō 'jump', paíō 'beat' : Lat. paviō,id.;ksainō 'scratch'; pállō 'swing', trizō 'squeak' , lúzō 'hiccup, whimper' and many more. Gothic has hlahjan 'laugh', mēljan 'write', siujan 'sew',etc. Words representing 'saying' are sometimes of this type, cf. Skt. bhā́ṣe , (mp. of bhaṣāmi 'bark', itself an intermittent act)'say , address, call' as against bhāse (non-iotacised) 'shine' ; Latin aiō 'say' as against agō 'do, transmit,etc.' Further Skt. examples include gṛbhyāmi 'stride' , eṣāmi 'creep',etc. The reason for iotacism is not always clear, cf. Gk. baínō and Lat. veniō 'come', and Gk. thállō : Alb. dal 'come out'.

Albanian verbs without iotacism reflect this only in the nature of the final consonant. Thus pjek 'I bake, ripen' is from +pequ̯ō (-esi,-eti) as against Gk. péssō, péptō, id. fr. +peqṷi̭ō. Slavonic, like Albanian, is non-iotacised (pekǫ), but -č- in Skt. pačāmi seems to derive from the 2. 3. sg. consonantism (pačasi, pačati), in which IE +-qṷ- appears before a front vowel. Examples of iotacised presents in Albanian include mas, aor. mata 'measure' (o-grade to root +met- as in Gk. métron): Li. mataũ, yti 'see' : Lav. matīt 'to feel, sense', beside Latv.mats 'measure': Li.

mātas,id. ; cf. Gk. á-motos 'excessive' and Alb. matë beside masë 'measure' (fr. $^+$motis,$^+$moti̯ə); ndesh 'meet, clash with' ,fr.$^+$en-toksi̯ō : Li. taksiu 'beat, tick' : Tokh. tak- 'touch'; mbars, aor. mbarsa'fecundate', fr.$^+$en-bhordi̯ō, cf. Illyrian (equa) bardia 'pregnant (mare)': Lat.forda 'fertile;OCS (e-grade)brěždĭ,id. : MHG barzen 'be full, swell'; plas,aorist:plasa 'bang, burst',from$^+$plakti̯ō , cf. Sw. flättja 'frivolity',and Lith. plakù, plàkti 'slap,etc.' beside plakšiù 'crack,snap': Latv.plakšu 'slap',etc. For rúsem 'hang down, dismount, descend' cf. Pol.rzucić, 'fling, cast': Cz. řítiti se 'crash, fall', fr. IE $^+$reuti̯ō. For tres, aor. treta 'melt, dissolve' cf. OCS tratiti, 1sg. traštǫ 'waste, destroy', and Gk. trōsis 'injury' (trṓō, titrṓskō), fr. $^+$trōti̯ō,etc.

Allied to the intermittent aspect there appears to be a variant iotacism of single-act aspect. The forms of Gk. baínō : Lat. veniō, dal, and Gk. thallō have been noted above, to which we may add the Latin formations capiō 'seize', and rapiō 'snatch', which are clearly of this aspect. A possible Albanian example of this type is the verb ngul'thrust in' and its correlative shkul 'pull out'. For the simplex, cf. Lithuanian kuliù 'beat, thrash', a meaning reflected also in Albanian përkul 'bend', though the aspectual feature is not clear. The same is true of trus, trys, aor. trusa, trysa 'press' : Lat. trūdō 'thrust' : OIcel.impers.vb. þrjóta, 3sg. þrýt 'it fails, exhausts'; o-grade in þraut 'labour': OCS trudŭ,id. Albanian type$^+$treudi̯ō. The difference between the intermittent aspect and the single-act aspect may be reflected in the aorist, though this is not certain. Cf however fus, aor. futa 'insert , force in' (intermittent?), and Lith. kósiu, pf. kosējau 'cough' (intermittent), kuliu, kūlejau 'beat' (id.), as against Lith. vemiù,pf. vēmjaũ 'vomit' (single-act). Albanian has examples of both in mbys'choke , drown', aor. mbyta, and përmbys 'overthrow', aor.-mbysa (IE type$^+$pro-enbuzdi̯ō,etc.).

One form of iotacism seems to have arisen from the o-grade factitive as in Gk. porízō 'convey' (peírō), OCS po-ložiti 'to lav' (lęgǫ). This occurs in the verb ndez 'ignite' (djeg), fr.$^+$endhogu̯hei̯ō , cf. the parallel forms of Lat. foveō 'warm' and Skt. dañhayāmi (a frequentative of similar formation to foveō) 'shine, burn'.

The Imperfect

The Geg form of the imperfect of *jam* and *kam*, viz. *ishe(m)* and *kishe(m)* represent the full-grade of the inflection found in other verbs. A similar reduction is seen in the imperfect of *thom,them*, viz. *thoshe(m)*. The Tosk formula is similarly reduced from *isha* (*ishnja*, *ishja*) and *kisha*, (*kishnja*, *kishja*) respectively.

It is difficult to account for the consonant -*sh*- except as a derivative of the imperfect subjunctive, with which the indicative form is identical, so that an equation of *ishe(m)* with Gk. eíēn and Lat. essem under a caption +ési̭em or +éssi̭em would be possible. The n-element in the Tosk form is even more difficult, but cf. Gk. ē̃n , 1sg. *and* *3sg*. of eimí, in which there is also an unexplained n-element (the 1sg. equates with Skt. āsam). "Obscure" to Chantraine (p.235).

The 3sg. *ishte* and *kishte* is paralleled by a short form *ish*,*kish*, a fact which lends credence to the notion that -*te* is not an original inflection but an adverbial expletive ('there, yonder', or 'then, so', cf. Hittite tā 'then, so', etc. and Homeric tō̃j, id.). The plural forms contain the easily recognized IE endings -*m*, -*t*, -*n* , but with the vocalism of the Greek optative rather than the imperfect. IE +-émes, +-éte , +-ént(i).

The presence of Tosk -*n*- in the Tosk forms of the imperfect of the diathematic verbs of type *laj* (p.134) and *bâj*, *bëj* (p.137), and its presence in the Geg form of the 3rd. person singular is unaccountable, but the problem is equally matched by that of Gk. ē̃en, eēn, etc. 'he was'.

The Aorist

The complex Indo-European pattern of the aorist is only in part reflected in Albanian. Related to aspect by reason of internal form, or by inflection (with or without the -s- element), the aorist included a multiplicity of inflections signifying such notions as Instant, Progressive, Intensive, and Terminal (cf. the author's Armenian Historical Grammar in Latin Characters, 1968, page 43, last paragraph).

The aorist is often represented as being in opposition to the scheme of the present tense. It is subject to internal and external variations. The internal variations are: (1) lengthening of the present-tense vowel, alternation with the present-tense vowel by the substitution of +-o-, (3) reduction of the aorist-vowel to $^{+}$-ə- or zero. The external changes are: the addition of a sigmatic element ($^{+}$-s-), reduplication, and (in Sanskrit, Greek and Armenian) the addition of the augment $^{+}$e-.

Of the various aorist criteria, Albanian has inherited sigmatism (as in qeshë, thashë, pashë, dhashë, lashë, and sporadically in dialectal T patshë, etc.); apophonic variation or Ablaut (as in dolla, mora; vodha, krodha,etc. with an unexplained iotacism in poqa and dogja); unchanged internal vocalism (as in kapa, mbatha,etc., with iotacism maintained in fala, vesha,etc.); a form of aorist in -ta,etc. unrelated to the present stem and a z-grade in vûna 'I put', zûna 'I grasped'.

Of these forms, the last three (in -a,-e,-i,etc.) echo in some degree the forms of the Lithuanian and Latvian perfect and the endings of the Latin perfect, and the last (in -ta,-te,-ti) seem to indicate a tense that was identified at an early date with the aorist, but which may originally have been distinct from it. Its occurrence is limited to a small number of common verbs in which the aorist idea seems to be progressive, or non-terminal, and may be linked with the disputed 'weak' verbs of Germanic grammar (cf. majta 'I reared', ngrita 'I raised', mbajta 'I held', mbrojta 'I defended', etc. and the continuant sense of English 'I lived', 'I loved', 'I had' (: Ger. lebte, liebte, hatte).

The Inflections of the Aorist

Sigmatism is characteristic of Sanskrit, Avestan, Armenian, Greek & Latin, but Baltic (Lithuanian, Latvian and Old Prussian) have preserved no relic of it. Sigmatism is also characteristic of the older Slavonic languages (OCS, Old Czech,etc.). Its origin is uncertain, but its phonological structure is distinct from that posited for IE $^{+}$-s-, and this fact has given rise to a belief in a secondary IE $^{+}$-s- ($^{+}s_2$ or $^{+}$ṣ) to account for this difference. Thus Skt. -ṣam, -iṣam and -siṣam, Armenian -c̣- , Greek -s- and OCS -xŭ beside -sŭ all reflect some deviation from the pattern indicating IE $^{+}$-s-. This is also true of Albanian -shë, which occurs only in the 1st. singular.

Albanian sigmatism occurs exclusively in the 1st. person singular. It is characteristic only of open monosyllabic radicals, but is found in the Tosk dialects occasionally attached to other stems as a variant of the inflection -*a*, which is of distinct origin.

It is uncertain why the -*shë* aorist came to be limited to the 1st.sg. For a parallel, cf. *thashë* 'I said'; Skt. aśiṣam, 3sg. aśiṣat; Armenian asaç̣i, 3sg. asaç̣ ; IE $^+$e-k̂əsi̯om (or $^+$e-k̂əṣom, since the true value of Skt. -ṣ- : Arm. -ç̣- : Albanian -sh- is uncertain). Lack of parallel evidence for the remaining Albanian forms precludes the formation of any definite conclusion, and the remaining endings of the singular, whatever they were, have become absorbed and lost within the monosyllabic fragment of the root.

The plural endings, variously written -*ëm*, -*ët*, -*ën* and -*më*, *të*, -*në*, reflect the endings of the other well-preserved IE languages, but the stem-vowel has been reduced to zero, and reveals nothing of its more detailed history.

The endings of the 1st., 2nd. and 3rd. singular for most verbs, viz. -*a*, -*e*, -*i*, appear to derive from a set of themes found in Latin and in Baltic, with some archaic extensions in Sanskrit. The more recent discovery of parallels in Hittite, with its unique 'laryngals', serve merely to complicate the picture. Thus the background of Albanian -*a*, -*e*, and -*i* (-*u*) is far from clear.

From the evidence of Hittite lahhan 'war', lahhiya(mi) 'go to war' : Gk. láō 'seize' beside apo-laúō 'get, enjoy' : OCS lovljǫ , loviti 'to chase, catch' (cf. Lat. lucrum 'gain' and Skt. lōtram 'booty') there is some relationship between the double laryngalism of Hittite and diphthongal -u- and -u̯- (real or implied) in Greek. This equation, agreed also by E.H.Sturtevant, is echoed in another root appearing in Gk. loúō 'wash' : Lat. -luō and lavō, id. : Alb. *laj*, id. corresponding to Hitt. lahhwi 'I pour', The Hittite lahhus 'basin' could belong to either of these two roots, cf. Lith. lovys 'trough, riverbed' and Gk. lēnós, Dor. -ā- 'winevat', cf. Hitt. lahhuras 'spoon, ladle' or sim. used in sacrifice . For a further equivalence of Hitt. -hh- and general IE $^+$-u̯-, cf. tarhhmi 'am powerful' : Skt. tūrvāmi 'overpower, deliver' : Pol. trwać, Cz. trvati 'to last'. A possible background for this glottalized phoneme could be an IE glottalized labial, say $^+$'u̯. If so, it behaves according to laws of its own, independently of plain IE $^+$u̯.

The endings of the aorist singular are best illustrated in the Tosk forms of *njoh* 'I know' (fr. a type $^{+}$ĝnēsk̂ō or^{+}ĝnāsk̂ō), viz.*njova*, *njove*, $^{+}$njoi (for $^{+}$njovi) as recorded by Dozon, Dine and Floqi (the Bible translation has njohva,etc.). Despite the discrepancy of the internal vocalism, there is a correspondence in the inflexion with Vedic (the perfect) Latin (perfect), Lithuanian and Latvian (imperfect, and perfect-present), with a possible echo in Hittite. Cf. Vedic jajñaú Isg., jajñaú and jajñe 3sg. ; Latin gnōvī lsg., gnōvit 3sg.; Lithuanian žinaũ, žinaĩ, žìno; Latvian zinu, zini, zin ; OE cnāwe, p.t. cnēow,etc. For speculations in Hittite, see E.H.Sturtevant "Comp.Gr. Hitt.Lg."(2nd.edn.) page 137, para. 239b and 239c (Hitt. preterite lsg. lawun 'I loosened', 3s. lai). For speculations on the origin of Vedic dadhaú, dadaú, sasaú, jajñau,and the form paprau'I have filled'(: Lat. plēvī), 3s. paprā́ and paprau, see Mayrhofer "Sanskrit-Grammatik" ,p.92,para. 125, with reference to W. Krause: Festschrift für F.Sommer, 1955,137ff.

Most striking of all phonological correspondences are however those of the Albanian aorist, the Lithuanian (and Latvian) imperfect, and the Gothic formant of weak verbs -dēdjáu, -dēdeis, -dēdi in the imperfect 1, 2,3.subjunctive. These last endings reflect in iotacized form the endings of the present subjunctive -áu,-áis, -ái. In their simplest form they appear in wēsjáu 'I might be' and sijáu 'I may be'. If the subjunctive forms of Gothic do in fact reflect those of the Albanian aorist singular this means that an IE^{+}-u-element is the mark of a non-present act with which it stands in contrast.

The iotacism present in some Albanian aorists is reflected also in some Lithuanian imperfect forms, cf. daviaũ, daveĩ, dā̆vē 'gave' as compared with the non-iotacized formant -davau,-davai,-davo in bēg-davau 'I ran',etc. Albanian forms include *dogja* 'I burnt' (from $^{+}$dhēgṷhi̭ou-) as against Lith. (short vowel) degiaũ, and Latvian (short vowel and non-iotacism) degu,id. Similarly Alb. *poqa* 'I baked' (from $^{+}$pēqṷi̭ou-) as against Lith. (short vowel) kepiaũ, and Latvian (short vowel and non-iotacism) cepu,id. This iotacism is not reflected in the Latin perfects of type lāvī, cēpī, vēnī, vīdī, gnōvī, nor of type rapuĭ, secuī. Much has been written on the origin of these forms;none is convincing in every detail. (Speculations in Sommer, HbLLF 1913 (1948),pp. 550-1 and pp. 558-9; Sturtevant,CGHL,2nd.ed. p. 133). For speculations on the Gothic subjunctive, see Wright "Gr. of the Gothic Lg." (p. 137: nimau § 288), & Prokosch "Comp.Gmc. Gr.", 1939, p. 216,last para., and 217 first para.).

Apophonic Aorists

Of peculiar interest are the aorists whose internal vowel stands in contrast to that of the present tense (cf. page 132: type dal and type heq, and see pp. 143-4). Vowel-alternation is characteristic of Sanskrit, Avestan, Greek, Latin, Germanic and Baltic, with limited reflexes in the older Slavonic languages. The apophonic verbs of Albanian correspond to the types represented by (1) English take, took (dal, marr, aor. dolla, mora); (2) Gothic baíra, p.t.1pl. bērum; nima, p.t.1pl. nēmum; cf. Hittite(sakhhi), 1pl. sēkweni, and above all the series represented by Skt. ádmi, pf. 1sg. āda : Lat. edō, pf. ēdī :OLith. édmi, pf. ẽdžiau;(3) Greek témnō, étamon, tm-ēma,etc. , and (4) a possible remnant of the alternation of e and o in vetem, vojta, vajta. Type (2) represents the greater number of Albanian verbs with vowel-alternation: IE +e: +ē.

bjerr, bora, birr, bjerr-un 'lose' (variant vdjerr, and Buz. bdier), fr. a type +de-bheri̯ō, the simplex in Lat. feriō 'strike' and in Alb.bie, imperat. bjer,id. ; o-grade in OE berian : OHG berjan 'strike', & in OCS borjǫ, boriti 'fight'. IE +bheri̯ō (+bhor-).

bredh, brodha, bridh, bredh-un 'jump, wander, rush, bounce, jest': Rus. brestì 'wander, amble' ; bred 'delirium' : OCS bredǫ , bresti 'wade'; long-grade in W bridd 'leap forward':OFris.brēd-, cpds. 'sudden': ON bráðr,id. : Sw. bråd,id. beside ON bræða 'dash, hurry'. IE+bhredh- , +bhrēdh-.

çierr, çora, çirr, çierr-un 'tear' : OHG skëran : ON skera : OE scieran, etc. 'cut, divide, shear, trim (hair)' : Armenian ḱerem 'scrape,rub'; Skt. kharaḥ 'rough, harsh';s.'a thorny plant' ; kharuḥ 'tooth'. Cf. Dacian skiárē (for +skjer-?) 'briar'. IE +skheri̯ō, +skhēr-.

dírgjem & dérgjem, u-dorgja, dirgj-u, djerg-un 'descend; fall ill, lie ill' ; cf. Lith. dirgstu, dirgti 'collapse'(zero-grade).

djeg, dogja, digj, djeg-un 'burn': Skt. dahāmi : Av. dažai- : Tokh. tsakᵣ, tsäk- : Ir. dóghaim, dóighim , MIr. dóim (vowel influenced as in cóig '5' by a following +-u̯-): Br. devi : Cor. dywy : Li. degù :Latv. degu and (by iotacism) dedzu,id. IE +dhegu̯hō. An iotacised form occurs in Alb. ndez 'kindle' (+endhogu̯hei̯ō). O-gde in Lat. foveō 'be warm'.

dredh, drodha, dridh, dredh-un 'twist' :Gk. trékhō, fut. thréksomai'run', o-grade in trokhós 'wheel, hoop'; trókhos 'course'; trokholós 'rolling, rapid' ; cf. Ir. dreas (2) 'bout, turn' ($^{+}$dhreĝhst- or $^{+}$dhreĝhs-) beside R o-grade doróga, Cz. dráha 'way', W.Arm. zero-grade tarc 'turn', tarcnem, E. and O Arm. dardznem 'turn' IE $^{+}$dhreĝh-,$^{+}$ dhroĝh-, $^{+}$dhr̥ĝh-.

hedh & hjedh, hodha, hidh, hedh-un, hjedh-un 'throw': Gk. skedánnūmi,ft. skedõ 'fling, scatter' : Cz. štěditi 'to spare, be generous', cf. OCS štedrŭ 'generous'. IE $^{+}$sked-

heq & hjek, hoqa, hiq, heq-un, hjek-un 'pull'; cf. Gk. hélkō, $^{+}$helkúō , fut. helkúsō,id. A word of uncertain consonantism but similar in form and function to OCS vlěkǫ,id. and Lith. velkù, vil̃kti,id. IE^{+}su̯elqu̯-?

kredh, krodha, kridh, kredh-un 'immerse, smother'. Origin unknown.

mbështiell, mbështolla, mbështill, mbështiell-un (also pshtjell,pshtolla, etc.) 'wrap, envelop'. Origin unknown.

mbiell, mbolla, mbill, mbiell-un 'plant'.The simplex is piell, pjell,v. 'give birth to; produce';cf. Skt. paṇaḥ'goods':Ir.ell:OCS plěnŭ,etc.

mbledh, mblodha, mblidh, mbledh-un 'gather'. From a type^{+}en-pro-leĝ-,cf. Gk. légō 'gather, count, describe, read, say', sul-légō 'gather':Lat. legō 'gather, choose, read' : W llëu 'read, lecture' (possibly a LW), cf. Ir. de-ligim 'separate' (and cf. zgjedh, below).

mjel, mola, mil, mjel-un 'milk' : Tokh. malk-, mālk-, id. : Gk. mélgō 'handle, squeeze', beside a-mélgō 'milk' : Thrac. melg- : Illyr.miel- 'milk' ;cf. OIr. mligim, MIr. bligim (metathesis), id. and W ar- mael 'second milk' : OE melcan : MHG mëlchen, mëlken : ON mjólka :OCS mlŭžǫ, mlěsti : Li. mélžiu,-ti beside mìlžti, id. IE $^{+}$melĝ- ($^{+}$ml̥ĝ-).Loss of Albanian -g- after -l- as in the LW ndëlej 'pardon' fr. indulgeō.

ndiell, ndolla, ndill, ndiell-un 'coax; entice'. A cpd. of unknown origin. Cf. Gk. dólos, Lat. dolus.

ndjek, ndoqa, ndiq, ndjek-un 'follow'. From a type^{+}endo-sequ̯ō. For the simplex, cf. Skt. sačāmi : Av. hača- : Tokh. säk- : Myc. eq- :Gk.hépomai : Lat.seq^{u}or : OIr. sechur : MIr. sechim : Go. saíhwan ('to see'): Li. seku,-ti 'follow' : OLatv. seku,t,id. Cf. W go-hebu ($^{+}$upo-sequ̯-) 'to correspond'.

nxierr, nxora, nxirr, nxierr-un 'extract'. A compound, for which the simplex appears to be that of Skt. hváre,mp. 'twist' : Av. zbar- 'double up, crumple'. IE $^{+}$gu̯her-, $^{+}$gu̯hēr- (?).

përciell, përcolla, përcill, përciell-un 'accompany'. A cpd. of siell,q. v. and cf. Skt. pračarāmi 'come to, wander, be busy, behave'.

përmierr, përmora, përmirr, përmierr-un 'urinate'. Origin unknown.

përpjek, përpoqa, përpiq, përpjek-un 'strike; encounter' ; mp. përpiqem, u-përpoqa,etc. 'try'. The simplex pjek (2) also occurs in this sense. Cf. Tokh. B pyak 'hit', Lat. pignus,-oris,-eris 'pawn' (if for $^{+}$peknos, cf. signum, tignum), OHG fëh-ta 'fight'. IE $^{+}$pek-.

pjerdh, pordha, pirdh, pjerdh-un 'break wind': Skt. parde : Gk. perdō , pérdomai : MHG vërzen : OE feortan, fretan : OIcel. freta : Li. pérdžiu, pérsti,id. Zero-grade in OCS prŭždǫ, prŭděti,id. IE^{+}perd-(pr̥d-).

prier, prora, prir, prier-un 'incline, tilt'. A compound of uncertain elements , cf. Gk. prõra 'prow', if for $^{+}$pro-u̯eri̯ə (or^{+}-u̯r̥i̯ə), and cf. Lat. prorsum, prorsus,etc.

rrjedh, 3s. aor. rrodhi, pp. rrjedh-un 'flow'; probably: Skt. vrájāmi 'go' : Go. wrikan 'pursue' : OHG rëchan 'go to meet ' : Du. wrikken 'move, shake, rock, scull' : OE wreocan, wrecan 'drive; advance'. IE u̯reĝ- , beside a possible variant in Lat. vergō,ěre 'go' (WH confused; EM sceptical; T.G.Tucker copies WH but confuses two unrelated roots).

rrjep, rropa, rrip, rrjep-un 'skin, flay'. Of ambiguous origin, but cf. Lat. repens 'sudden' ($^{+}$repō,ěre 'snatch') ; (with long vowel) Lith. rēpiu, rēpti 'snatch' ; zero-grade in OCS vrŭpěti 'plunder'. (Alb. vrap 'haste' is an O-grade Slavonic LW, cf. vrapěti 'squeeze, reinforce'. Vossius et al. : repens: Gk. rhépō 'tilt; tend, incline' untenable).

siell, solla, sill, siell-un 'turn; bring' : Skt. čárāmi, čare 'go, wander' : Av. čarai(mi) 'be active' : OPer. čar- 'move': Mod.Per. čarīdan 'tend' : Oss. cärĭn 'live, dwell' : Homeric pélomai 'go, come' (p- for t- from pólos,etc. Cf. peri-téllomai 'circle round, orbit'): Lat. cōlō 'till, trim; inhabit; woo; practise ; follow, maintain' : W pelaf 'I hurl' ; pelio,inf. 'brandish' : Li. keliù, ti, impf. kẽliau (2) 'open or close (door)'. IE $^{+}$qu̯el-.

shqierr,shqora, shqir, shqier-un 'tear up' . A cpd. of çierr, qua $^{+}$ek̂s-skher-. Variant spellings include shqerr and shtjerr.

tërheq & *tërhjek*, *tërhoqa*, *tërhiq*, *tërhequn*, -*hjek-un* 'draw, attract' A cpd. of *heq*, q.v. above, with prefix $^+$tra-($^+$trə-) as in Lat. tra-dō , -dere.

tierr, *tora*, *tirr*, *tierr-un* 'spin (yarn)'. From a type $^+$teri̯ō, possibly identical with Gk. teréō 'bore' (o-grade in tórnos 'lathe'); cf. Lat. terebrum, terebra 'drill, borer': Gk. téretron,id.: Gallo-Lat. tarátrum (Fr. tarière) : OBrit. tarater : Br. tarar, talar: Cor. tardar : W taradr : Ir. tarathar (IE $^+$e + $^+$ə > Celtic a + a), and cf. also OCz. třieti sě 'intrude' ; Cz. ve-třel-ec 'intruder' ; Lith.terla,terle 'snout'.

tredh, *trodha*, *tridh*, *tredh-un* 'castrate'. Of uncertain origin. The primary sense is seen in Tosk s-tredh, s-trodha (a cpd.) 'twist,untwist'.

vdierr, *vdora*, *vdirr*, *vdierr-un* 'lose'. A synthetic cpd. like Gk.phtheírō 'ruin', cf. *bjerr*, above. A variant occurs in *dbierr* 'lose'. The nature of the prefix is uncertain, but cf. Goth. du-. IE $^+$dhə- (?).

vjedh, *vodha*, *vidh*, *vjedh-un* 'steal'. From IE $^+$u̯eĝhō 'convey' as in Skt. váhāmi : Av. vazāmi : OPer. ā-vīzam ('suspend') : Cypr. Pamph. wékhō (Gk. ékhō (2)) 'deliver' : Lat. vehō : Goth. ga-wigan 'move' :OHG wëgan : ON vega : OCS vezǫ : Lith. vežu 'convey'. Cf.Latv.vezums 'cartload', and Osset. ā-wädz 'furrow'.

vjel, *vola*, *vil*, *vjel-un* 'gather (grapes)'. IE $^+$u̯el-, cf. Arm. gelum , aor. geli (3) 'tear, rend' : Lat. vellō 'tug' ($^+$u̯elnō) : Lith. veliù, p.t. vēliau 'full (cloth)'.

vjell, *viell*, *volla*, *vill*, *vjellun*, *viell-un* 'vomit'. Of unknown origin.

vjerr, *vierr*, *vora*, *virr*, *vjerrun*, *vierr-un* 'hang' IE $^+$su̯eri̯ō, cf. Gk. aeírō 'raise' , aíromai 'hang' ($^+$sm̥-su̯eri̯ō : Alb. mvjerr 'hang'): Li. sveriù, p.t. svēriau 'weigh, lever up, raise': Latv. sveŗu, svēru,tr. & intr. 'weigh'; cf. Goth. swēran 'honour' (swērs $^+$'heavy; honoured').

zbledh 'unfurl', see *mbledh*; *zdredh* 'untwist' see *dredh*.

zgjedh, *zgjodha*, *zgjidh*, *zgjedh-un* (ST and Çam. *zgledh*, *zglodha*,etc.; NG *zgedha*, *zgodha*,etc.) 'choose'. From a type dis-ko-leĝ-; radical in Gk. légō : Lat. legō,etc.

zvjerdh, *zvordha*, *zvirdh*, *zvjerdh-un* 'wean' (variant px. *s*-, *x*-). The simplex appears in a mediopassive form *virdhem*, *u-vordha* 'get skilled in; gain the sympathy of'. IE $^+$u̯erĝ- : Skt. várjāmi 'turn, twist,remove, withhold' : Tokh. wärk-, B wark- 'be fit, be strong': Homeric: érgō, Gk. eírgō 'shut, confine, restrain, avert' ; Myc. 3s. wereke(i) (queried) 'hems in': OE weorce 'trying' : ON verkr 'pain, smart', beside verkja 'smart, feel pain': OCS zero-grade vrŭžǫ , vrěsti 'tie' : Lith. veržù, veřžti 'squeeze, choke', aor. veržiau (short vowel). Cf. Lat. vermen 'gripes', for +u̯erĝm̥n̥-

Notes. (1) The Geg forms given above display diphthongal *-ie-* for *-je-* as a rule before l/ll and r/rr. The Tosk dialects display uniformly -je-.

(2) Some attempt has been made by E.Prokosch "A Comparative Germanic Grammar", 1939, p. 173 to account for varying degrees of apophony, as it occurs in the Germanic "strong" verbs in relation to Greek and Latin. See below.

Non-apophonic Aorist

Verbs with the same internal vowel in the Albanian aorist as in the present tense reflect the *imperfect* of Greek and Sanskrit, cf. Gk. édon 'I ate'(beside Latin ēdī), and Skt. a-sadam 'I sat' (beside the aorist a-sādam). This repetition of the present-vowel in the past tense is also characteristic of many verbs in Lithuanian and Latvian, where both sense and inflections are no longer differentiated from the past tenses displaying internal -ē-. Thus vežiau 'I carried' , degiau 'I burned' ; kepiau 'I baked', veržiau 'I squeezed' , sekiau 'I followed', where Albanian displays the reflex of IE +-ē- in vodha, dogja, poqa, z-vordha, ndoqa. But *terminal aspect* is displayed in Lithuanian sēdau 'I sat': Skt. a-sādam : Lat. sēdī; ēdžiau 'I devoured' : Lat. ēdī ; ēmiau 'I took':Lat. ēmī ; skobiau 'I stripped' : Lat. scābī 'I scraped'. The same is apparent from such equations as Skt. a-gām : Gk. é-bēn and Latin vēnī. Zero-grade aorists, representing momentary action in the past, are characteristic of Greek (ébalon, étupon, épardon). Cf. Alb. vûna, zûna, p.143.

Verbs with non-apophonic aorist in Albanian sometimes have their counterpart in a present tense containing the reflex of iotacism. When this is so, the present tense frequently represents intermittent aspect, as in Latin feriō 'strike, beat', grunniō 'growl' ; Gk. rhézō 'do', trīzō 'cry, squeal', etc. Cf. *cys*, aor. *cyta* 'irritate' beside *cus* 'irritate; probe', from a type +teuti̯ō (of iterative aspect). Cf. also *ngul* , aor. *ngula* 'thrust in'; shkul, aor. shkula 'pluck out', representing a type +en-kul, +ek̂s-kuli̭ō respectively, forms which are reflected exactly in Lithuanian į̃-kuliù, p.t. -kūliau 'bash in' , and ìš-kuliu 'thresh out, knock out' . Similarly shkel, aor. shkela (archaic shkal, shkala —Buzuk) 'tread' equates with Lith. ìš-kalu, p.t. -kalaũ and -kaliau 'hammer out, inculcate' and (radically) with OCS koljǫ , klati 'stab': Lith. kalu, kalti 'forge, hammer' : Latv. kaļu,kalt,id. : Skt. kalāmi (2) 'push, drive' :Alb. kall 'bung, thrust, incite' (without iotacism), and cf. Lat. inter-calō 'insert',etc. Iotacism is also present in ON heljast 'toil'. IE +kali̭ō.

Of the non-iotacized verbs of this category the following are equatable with forms outside Albanian.

prek,aor. preka 'touch, concern' : Gk. prépō 'stand out, be distinguished; be fitting' ; preptós 'distinguished' : Myc. pereqoto-,id. IE +preqṷō, preqṷtos. The Alb. aorist preka : Gk. (radical vowel of the) imperfect éprepon. (Bois. & Hof. untenable)

dhîmb,tr.aor. dhîmba (T dhëmb, dhëmba) 'hurt', a back-formation from the impersonal verb dhîmbet 'it hurts, aches' (fr. +ĝémbhetoi : Skt. Ved. jámbhate 'snaps at , bites', hence the vocalism; cf. jemi above): Av. zəmb- : OCS zębǫ, zębsti 'tear, lacerate; freeze' : Li. žembu,-ēti v. 'sprout' (: OCS pro-zębǫ, -zębsti : R pro-zjabàtĭ and zjabnutĭ,id.)., beside žembiù, -ti 'prune'.

qell, aor. qella (1) bring, lead' (Italo-Alb. and Buzuk) : Gk. kéllō,tr. 'drive; beach (a ship)' : Lith. keliù, kélti (6) 'carry, convey,beach (a ship)'; (2) 'stop' : Lith. keliù (5) 'stop' ; (3) in phr. qell ën dhunë 'mock' (Buzuk); përqell,id. : Gk. kélomai 'call'. IE +kel- in all senses.

qep, aor. qepa 'sew' ; cf. Ukr. pri-čepyty 'attach' ; u-čepyty,id. : Li. kempù, kèpti, p.t. kepaũ 'adhere' : Latv. ķepju, ķept,id. IE +kep-.

qeth, aor. qetha 'trim (hair)' ; cf. Skt. keśaḥ 'hair, mane' ; Li.káišiu, káišti 'shave, trim, scrape, scour' IE +koik̂-.

përqeth, -qetha (also ngjeth, rrëqeth) 'scare, make shudder, petrify' , radical in Lith. kaišaũ, -ýti 'squeeze, torture' ; káišiu, -ti,(2),id. IE +koik̂- (2).

ther, aor. thera 'pierce, hew, slaughter': Skt. śaráḥ 'arrow, destroyer': Gk. keírō 'cut' : Lith. šeriù, -ti 'strike, destroy'. IE +k̂er-.

Non-apophonic Aorists with
Present-stem in -h

Verbs of this type display a final -*h* in Northern Geg and in Tosk, but in Central Geg (Tirana and Elbasan) they end in -*f*. In this way they are different from those radicals in -*h* where Central Geg also has final -*h*, such as *deh* 'intoxicate' : Skt. dhvas- 'make fall, make perish'; cf. OE dwǣsian 'become silly' : MHG ver-twāsen, MLG -dwāsen 'befool, destroy': Lith. dvesiù, dvēsti 'expire' : Latv. dvešu, dvēst 'gasp'. IE $^{+}$dhṷes-, dhṷēs- (the Albanian consonantism as in *degë* 'branch', *derë* 'door').

The transfer of the inceptive-progressive element (as in Gk. kháskō : Lat. hiscō 'gape') to the aorist as in type *rrah*, aor. *rraha* (*rraf*,*rrafa*) (see page 131) may have been facilitated by the existence of an imperfect of Greek type éskon 'I was'. The inchoative element is paralleled, in both present and past tenses, also in Hittite, cf. aniskimi 'I do', preterit aniskinun.

Not all verbs of this type behave in this way, some displaying the imperfective aorist endings -*ta*, -*te*,-*ti* whether as the sole aorist form or as an alternative to the endings -(*h*)*a*, -(*h*)*e*, and -(*h*)*u*.

beh, aor. *beha* 'take by surprise' ; cf. Homeric pipháskō 'declare'. IE $^{+}$bhask̂ō, $^{+}$bhĭbhask̂ō ,radical $^{+}$bhă-, bhā- 'appear, show'. The alternative aorist *befta*, pp. *beftë* also arises in CGeg.

dërsif, *djersíf* (CG) 'sweat'(from *djersë* 'sweat', of unknown origin).The Tosk equivalent is *dërsij*, aor. *dërsita*.

fsheh, CG *pshef*, *mpshef*, Buzuk: *ënfsheh*, (variant *mpsheh* K.) 'hide'. A compound, with vowel-fronting, of *shoh*, 2.3sg. *sheh* (*shof*, *shef*)'see', from a type $^{+}$sĭsĕqṷō (intensive of $^{+}$seqṷō 'follow',etc. hence not a true inchoative); cf. Skt. intens. saśčāmi, 3s. síṣakti beside saśčāmi, -ati 'follow' , a type echoed in the diathematic Albanian verb *shikoj* 'I see'. The prefixes derive from $^{+}$apo- ($^{+}$enapo-) : Skt. apa - saśčāmi 'escape'.

ftoh, aor. *ftoha* (*ftof*, *ftofa*) 'chill' ; *i* *ftohët* (*i* *ftoftë*) 'cold'.Probably from a type $^{+}$apo-tēpsk̂ō, cf. Skt. tápāmi 'am warm'; tapyāmi 'am heated, burn' : Av. tap- 'burn, shine' : Per. tābīdan 'shine':Lat.tepeō 'am warm' ; cf. OE of-þefian (queried) 'dry up' (+apo- as a negative prefix). Cf. further Hittite (queried) tapasas 'fever'(:Skt.tap-as,n. 'heat'). An extended form occurs in Av. tafs- 'grow warm': Per. tafsīdan,id. : Oss. tăfsĭn 'feel a glow'; the long vowel occurs in Skt. tāpitaḥ (beside taptáḥ) 'heated, hot'. IE $^{+}$tep-, tēp-.

leh, aor. leha (lef,lefa) 'bark' : Gk. láskō 'howl, bay',etc. Radical in Hitt.-lāmi (in sar-lāmi 'cry up, praise') beside sar-lesk(ami), id.(= Alb. leh) : Skt. rāyāmi 'bark' : Per. lāyam, -īdan,id. : Oss. rïin , räjun (short vowel) 'bellow' : Arm. lam, aor. lac̣i 'weep' : Hes. láe 'resounds' : Lat. lā- in lāmentum 'weeping' : OIr. láaim 'utter': Go. laian 'scorn' (short vowel) : Icel. lá 'blame' : OCS lajǫ 'bark': Li. loju, loti 'bark'. IE $^{+}$lā- ($^{+}$la-).

mërdhih (mërdhif), aor. mardha, mërdhiha, mërdhifa and mërdhita ' 'feel cold'. Cf. mardhë,f. 'chill, frost, ice', which, with the first aorist, displays the radical: $^{+}$morĝ-, $^{+}$mr̥ĝ-. O-grade in Albanian and OCS mrazŭ, R moròz 'frost' ; zero-grade in Mod. Gk. margónō 'be stiff w. cold' : OCS mrŭznō, -nǫti (Pol. marznąć, R mërznut') 'freeze'; uncertainly to Skt. mūrčhāmi 'solidify' (if for $^{+}$mr̥ĝsk̂ō).

ndih, aor. ndiha (ndif, ndifa) (archaic) 'help', whence ndihmë,f.'help', ndihmoj (denom.) 'help'. Perhaps from a formula $^{+}$endo-isk̂ō, cf.for the simplex Gk. ískō 'go' (root $^{+}$i-'go'). A form tihmë, tihmoj, however , occurs in Montenegro and Kosova.

ngroh, aor. ngroha(ngrof,ngrofa) 'warm, heat'; adj.i ngrohtë (i ngroftë) 'warm'. The radical $^{+}$gu̯^{h}rē- is present in OCS grějǫ, grěti 'to heat'; OIr. grían 'sun'; grís 'burning, chafing' ; Ir. gríos 'embers'. The Albanian formula is $^{+}$en-gu̯hrēsk̂ō.

njoh, aor. njoha, njova and njojta (njof, njofta) 'know (by recognition)' cf. Gk. gignōskō : Lat. noscō,etc. (but the Albanian vocalism points to that of Latin (i)-gnāvus, gnārus,etc. with obscure connexions).

rrah, aor. rraha (rraf, rrafa) 'beat, strike'; cf. Skt. rakṣáḥ 'harm , damage' : Av. rašō,id. and Gk. rhássō, rháttō 'dash, strike'. Alb. type $^{+}$u̯rask̂ō. (Bois. and Hof. largely untenable: $^{+}$u̯răĝh- : $^{+}$u̯rāĝ!).

shoh, aor. shoha (shof, shofa) 'see'; cf. Skt. 3sg. síṣakti (IE $^{+}$sisequ̯-).

shtroh, shtrof 'run dry' , from a type $^{+}$sterēsk̂ō, cf. Lat. sterilescō for the ending, and Alb. shterr 'drain' : Gk. steírō , for the radical.

The Imperfective aorist in -ta,-te,-ti

Semantically the aorist in -ta,-te,-ti is not differentiated from other forms of the aorist. It does however preserve an echo of its former progressive meaning in the examples that maintain the *-ta* extension exclusively: *mbajta* 'I held' (*mbaj*) , *brejta* 'I gnawed' (*brej*) , *dijta* 'I knew' (*di*), *mpita*, *mpijta* 'I benumbed' (*mpij*), *mbrojta* 'I defended' (*mbroj*), *bujta* 'I spent the night' (*buj*), *ndyjta* 'I immersed' (*ndyj*). Of these forms, those with initial double consonants are derived from compounds . The simplex of *mbroj* (the usual Tosk form of *mproj*) is seen in *ruej* 'I guard' (aor. *rojta*) ; cf. Lat. reor, rēri 'think' : OCS rĕjǫ,-ati(2)'discuss', and perhaps Gk. arē-ménos 'expectant' IE +rē- (EM on reor:'no certain parallel'; WH 'reor' cites a non-existent Lith. verb). A form without initial *m-* occurs in *proj*, Buzuk: *përoj*, and *pruej*, all = 'defend' , from an IE +pro-rē- beside +en-pro-rēi̭ō.

brej, aor. *brejta* 'gnaw, wear down' ; cf. OE brī-þel 'fragile' : OCS brijǫ, briti 'shave'. IE +bhrei-.

buj, aor. *bujta* 'spend the night', from a type +bheui̭ō, cf. Skt. bhávāmi 'am, exist' : Av. bavaiti, 3s. 'will be' ; buye,mp. 'shall be'; Goth. (o-grade) bauan, 3s. bauiþ 'live, inhabit' . Cf. also Alb. *bun* 'hut of mountain shepherd' : Skt. bhavan 'dwelling'.

ndyj, aor. *ndyjta* 'immerse': Arm. nerkem 'dye' : Gk. endúō 'enter' :Lat. induō 'besmear' : OIr. indaim 'immerse' (cpd. 'dye'). IE +endui̭ō.(The Armenian consonantism is that of erku 'two', from +duō).

The form *mpij*, aor. *mpijta* 'benumb' has been preserved in Tosk to differentiate it from *mbij*, aor. *mbijta* 'grow, shoot, sprout'(from an IE type +en-bhūi̭ō : Gk. emphū́ō 'implant' : Lith. į-būvu 'settle in'). The last form has an alternative aorist *mbiva*. The form *mpij* has no certain etymology.

The form *ngreh* (*ngref*) (N also *ngrej*) 'raise' has an anomalous aorist *ngrita* (Buzuk: *ëngriti* 3s.) beside the equally anomalous *ngreva*. *Mund* 'can', aor. *mujta* (Geg), *munda* (Tosk) indicates a historical difference, no longer valid, between two aspects. In the sense 'conquer', the aorist is *munda* in both dialects.

A suppletive aorist *ndenjta* 'I stood, sat' (attached to the verb *rri* 'I stand, sit' by semantics) seems to be a t-form of the verb *ndej* 'I extend, stretch', aor. *ndenja*, from a type +en-teni̭ō : Gk. enteínō,id. For *vojta* (T *vajta*), aor. of *vétem* the indications are uncertain, but suggests a unique apophonic pair of type $^{+}$u̯ei- / u̯oi- (or $^{+}$u̯ēi̯-, see p. 169).

The Nasal Aorist in -na(T -ra)

This is not a special form of aorist, since -*na*, -*ne*, -*ni* (Tosk -*ra*, -*re*, -*ri*) represent part of the root, which is obscured in the 1st. sing. of the present tense(as well as in the 1pl. and 3pl.) by iotacism, resulting in palatalism in Geg, and loss in Tosk (see pages 135-6: *bâj*,*bëj*).

Modern practice eliminates the nasal sign from written Geg, but as a distinguishing feature it is of importance to etymologists. Examples of the nasal aorist are *bâna* (T *bëra*) 'I did, made', *ndena* (T *ndera*) 'I stretched', *grîna* 'I whetted', (T *grira*), *përvûna* 'I humbled' (T *përvura*). *drŷna* (Geg only) 'I locked',etc. Present tense 1sg. *bâj* (*bëj*), *ndej*,etc.

Anomalous aorists

The suppletive aorist *erdha* 'I came' (pp. *ardh-un*,-*ur*) is associated with the verb *vij*, 2.3sg. *vjen* 'come'; pl. *vijmë*, *vini*, *vijnë* , presumed from Lat. venire. Meyer's equation of the aorist *erdha* (and the pp. *ardh-un*) : Gk. érkhomai is rejected by Boisacq (but his alternatives, like those of Hofmann, for érkhomai are no better).

For the poetic verb *drue*, T *druaj*'I fear' (cf. Lith. drovà 'fear', drovētis'to fear') the aorist is *dreshta*, the pp. *drasht-un* , anomalous forms that seem to be characteristic of the Geg dialect. For *due*, T *dua* 'I wish, like, love' the aorist is *desh(t)a*, the pp. *dash(t)un*, T *dashur*. For the etymology, see page 29, line 4,et seq.

The Present Subjunctive

The basic pattern of the present subjunctive is seen in that of *jam*, *kam*, viz. të jem, të jesh, të jetë and të kem, të kesh, të ketë respectively . The plural forms are here, as elsewhere, not distinguished from those of the present tense. For *të jem*,etc. cf. Skt. syām, syāḥ, syāt :OLat. siem, sies, siet (sim, sis, sit), and with full vowel in the radical: Gk. optative eíēn,etc. ($^{+}$esi̯ēm). The potential particle *të* is reflected in Lith. te-sie 'if it be, let it be' and in the Romany dialects te hi, te si,id . The Albanian vocalism is short , as in Armenian ic̣em,etc. (from $^{+}$si̯em, $^{+}$e-si̯em), and the form of the 2sg. represents a prototype $^{+}$si̯esi to account for -*sh*. This, and the ending -*i*, Tosk -*ë* of the 3rd singular, are the only fragments of the IE subjunctive that have survived in the finite verbal forms (2sg.*të falish*, T *të falshë* or *të falësh* ; 3sg. *të fali*,Tosk *të* falë; similarly *të lajsh*, *të çojsh*, 3sg. *të lajë* and *të laji* , *të çojë* & *të çoji*).

Isolated are the 3rd. sg. forms in -*të* : *të thotë* and *të detë* (Elb.); the first is current, the second has largely given place to the form *të dojë*, which is standard usage.

The Imperfect Subjunctive

This does not differ in form from the imperfect indicative. It is preceded by the potential particle *të*, which is apostrophized before a vowel: *t'ishe(m)*,etc. The grammarian Ilia Dilo Sheperi gives an alternative form *të jeshe* for the 1st. and 2nd. singular. A common contraction of the third person singular *ishte* to *ish* 'was' is also reflected in the imperfect subjunctive *t'ish*.

The Optative

The optative is linked by phonology to the aorist, with which it shares a degree of identity in internal form. Thus the optative *qofsha*(archaic *klofsha*) is linked with the aorist *qeshë*,etc. (archaic *kleshë*,etc.) by a radical $^{+}$klē-/$^{+}$kle- , of uncertain origin, but most probably to be derived from a root $^{+}$qṷlĕ- as reflected in Gk. pélō , pélomai 'become',aor. é-pleo : Alb. *kle* (Buzuk), *qe* 'he was'.(For the pp. *qenë*, *klenë*, cf. Gk. plómenos, in cpds. 'become'). The diathematic -f- in the Albanian forms of the optative reflect a formula $^{+}$-pot-si̭em, reduced to $^{+}$-pot-si̭ə, cf. Lat. possim,etc. (The suppletive aorist/optative of *kam* 'have', *pata*, *patshë* / *patsha*,*paça* embody this root explicitly).

The heavily reduced, and thus etymologically obscured root in the simpler forms of the optative is usually a truncated form of the participle, and displays a bewildering number of variants as between Geg and Tosk:

ap,*jap* 'give' aor. *dhashë* opt. *dhatsha*, 3sg. *dhashtë*; Tosk *dhënça*, 3sg. *dhëntë*. pp. *dhân-un*, T *dhënë*.

bie (1) 'strike,fall' aor.*rashë* opt. *rafsha*, 3sg. *raftë*; Tosk *rënça*, 3sg. *rëntë* pp. *ra-më*, T *rënë*

bie (2) 'bring' aor. *prûna*,*prura* opt.*prufsha*, 3sg. *pruftë* pp.*prûmë* (archaic *prumunë*), T *prurë* .

drue (Geg) 'fear' aor. *dreshta* opt. *dratsha*, 3sg. *drashtë* pp. *drasht-un*.

due,*dua* 'wish' aor. *desha*, *deshta* opt. *datsha* (*daça*), 3sg.*dashtë* *ha* 'eat' aor. *hângra*, *hëngra* opt. *hângërsha*,*hëngërsha*, 3sg. *hângertë*, *hëngërtë* pp. *hângër*, T *ngrënë*

lâ,*lë* 'let, leave' aor. *lashë* opt. *latsha*, 3sg. *lashtë*; Tosk *lënça*, 3sg. *lëntë*. pp. *lân-un*, T *lënë*.(The Elbasan dialect of Kristoforidhi has an optative *lansha*, 3sg. *lantë*).

shof,*shoh* 'see' aor. *pashë* Opt. *pafsha*, 3sg. *paftë*, pp. *pa-më*, T *parë*

shpie 'take away' aor. *shpuna*, *shpura* opt. *shpufsha*, T *shpënça* pp. *shpû-më*, T *shpurë*, *shpënë*.

thom, *them* 'say' aor. *thashë* opt. *thânça*, T *thënça*, Gk- and It-Alb. *thëfsha*, 3sg. *thântë*, *thëntë*, Gk- and It-Alb. *thëftë*, Buzuk & N *thashtë* pp. *thân-un*, *thënë*

vdes (type *dal*; 2pl. *vdisni*) 'die' aor. *vdiqa* opt. *vdeksha*, 3sg. *vdektë* pp. *vdek-un*, *vdekur*

vê,*vë* 'put' aor. *vûna*, *vura*, pl. *vumë*,etc. opt. *vûfsha*, 3sg. *vûftë* (Kristoforidhi); T *vënça*, 3sg. *vëntë* pp. *vû-më*,T *vënë*

vij, 2.3sg. vjen 'come' aor. *erdha* opt. *ardhsha*, 3sg. *ardhtë* , pp. *ardh-un*,-*ur*

vete(m) 'go' aor. *vojta*, T *vajta* opt. *vofsha*, *voftë*, T *vafsha*, *vaftë* pp. *vojtun*, *vajtur*

vras, 2.3sg. *vret* 'kill' aor. *vrava*, 3sg. *vrau* opt. *vrafsha*, 3sg. *vraftë* pp. *vra-më*, T *vrarë*

The evidence of the open radicals such as *pifsha* 'may I drink',3sg.*piftë* (fr.*pi* 'I drink'), and the diathematic types *dafsha* 'may I divide', 3rd. sg.*daftë*,etc. and the 'nasal' types *bâfsha* 'may I do', 3sg. *bâftë* is sufficient to establish the source of the optative inflection, viz. as a reduction of +pot-si̯ēm via +pot-si̯ə,etc. An interesting parallel to this occurs in Kristoforidhi's dialect of Elbasan, in which the anomalous verb *mûej* (= *mund*) 'I am able' forms the *aorist* *mûfta*,-*e*,-*i*, plural *muftëm*,-*ët*,-*ën* (Elbasan Bible translation of Kristoforidhi: Mk.9.28;Mat. 26.40;Mk.9.19). The infinitive is *me* *mûftun* (Eph.6.13). The radical is probably from an IE type +mn̥̄-'press, force'; Lith. minu, minti 'trample': Latv. minu, mīt,id. : OCS mĭnǫ, męti 'squeeze' and the formative element +-potou-,etc. cf. Lat. potuī. Various types of assimilation account for the extraordinary variety in the forms of the optative.

The Imperative

The singular forms of the imperative reflect a stage in which a weak^{+}-i- was once present. This survives either as an iotacizing element (-j) or as a vowel-fronting element, cf. *thuej*, *thuaj*! 'say', *ji*! 'be', *ki*! 'have', *bli*! 'buy', *dil*! 'go out' , *merr*! 'take',etc. With one exception (*rrah*! *rrihni*!) the vowel of the imperative singular reflects that of the 2nd. person plural of the indicative and imperative, which are identical. Confirmation of the weak $^{+}$-i- that was once part of the imperative singular inflection is to be found in the Tosk form of *bëj*, viz. *bën*!, where -*n*- is preserved (elsewhere it is converted to -*r*-).The preservation of -*n*- in Tosk occurs before a (lost) weak $^{+}$-i- as in T *janë* 'they are' : Doric entí ; *anë* 'side', from a type^{+}antis (cf. Eng.end) , and in the Latin loanwords *qen* 'dog' (cani-), and *përpajnë* 'sucker'(propāgini-). Both palatalism and vowel-fronting are present in the imperative singular of those verbs whose radical forms end in -*k* or -*g*, and whose aorist is in apophonic relationship to the present tense, as in

ndjek 'pursue', aor. *ndoqa*, imperative sg. *ndiq*!
pjek 'bake, cook', aor. *poqa*, imperative sg. *piq*!
pjek(2), *përpjek* 'hit, meet', aor. *poqa*, *përpoqa*, imperat.sg.(*për*)*piq*!
djeg 'burn', aor. *dogja*, imperative singular *digj*!
heq, *helq*, *hjek* 'draw', aor. *hoqa*, *holqa*, imperat.sg. *hiq*! *hilq*!(according to dialect).

The former existence of a final -*i* in the imperative singular, and its derivation from IE $^{+}$-e, finds confirmation in the modern Albanian forms of the 1st. person plural of the verb as usually represented, cf. *rrimë* 'we sit', *dijmë* 'we know', *hyjmë* 'we enter', and the explicitly archaic forms preserved in *jemi* 'we are' (Doric eimés:OCS jesme (Lavr.op.)beside jesmŭ, Old Czech jsme : Old Lithuanian ésme), *kemi* 'we have', and *vemi* 'we go'. This archaic inflection is preserved in the Albanian dialects of Italy (not Sicily), thus *rrimi* 'we sit' (Santori), *dimi* 'we know'(Santori, Variboba), *himi* 'we enter' (Variboba),etc., and even occurs in the diathematic verbs of o-type as in *nderomi* 'we honour' (for mainland Albanian *nderojmë*).

Thus there is every reason to link the Albanian imperative singular & that represented by the equation, given by F.Sommer, HLLF,p.516:

Latin age! Gk. áge! Skt. aja! IE +aĝe!
though Sommer finds the general historical picture of the imperative singular "peculiar" and "questionable". According to him the truncated imperative (without -e) is due to frequency of usage, as in Latin fer! The same factor arises also in Albanian (*bjer!* 'bring', but also 'strike' : Lat. +ferī), and in modern Czech, cf. ber! 'take' (Old Czech beři!).

The absence of vowel or consonantal modification in verbs of type *kap*, *fal*, imperative sg. *kap!* *fal!* , and lack of palatalism in *prek* 'touch' , *lag* 'wet' (*prek!* *lag!*), etc. seems to be due to the influence of the 2nd. person plural of the present tense (*kapni*, *falni*, *prekni*, *lagni*, etc.), in which the verbal base is unmodified. The imperative plural invariably reflects the indicative (*bini!* 'bring', as against Homeric and Latin ferte!).

The Mediopassive

The only independent mediopassive forms are those of the present and the imperfect, and the related present and imperfect subjunctives. Other forms are those of the active compounded with the detached prefix *u* (fr. +seu̯ : Latvian sev, dat. 'self' : OLith. sau, mod. sav, id. : Homeric hée, beside Lesbian we 'self', acc., all of which form the basis of the possessive adjective Old Latin sovos, Lat. suus : Lith. sãvas, etc.).

The primary inflections of the present tense are those of the third person, whose Indo-European forms are deemed on the basis of parallel evidence to have been +-(e)toi; +-ontoi/-n̥toi (Mycenaean -etoi, -ontoi, Skt. -ate, -ante thematic; Myc. +-toi, Gk. -tai, +-ntoi, ntai, Sanskrit -te, nte athematic).

The Albanian 3rd singular *-et* seems to have arisen from the thematic formula +-etoi with loss of the distinguishing diphthong, and with levelling of the stem-vowel to the other forms: *-en* 3rd.pl., *-em*, *-esh* 1st. and 2nd. person singular. An echo of the original vowel arises in the 2nd. sing. *-esh* (fr. +-esoi via +-esi):

dúkem 'I appear' : Gk. deúkomai 'am seen'
dúkesh, 2sg. : Gk. deúkesai
dúket, 3sg. : Gk. deúketai

For *dúkemi* 'we appear', cf. Gk. deukóme-tha : Skt. -āma-he, and for *dúken* 'they appear', cf. Gk. deúkontai, Skt. -ante. The 2pl. is *dúkeni*, a form that reflects the enigmatic inflection of the active. For a discussion of this inflection see page 141, paragraph 1, and cf. Sommer HLLF, page 495 (Lat. -minī), Sturtevant HG 2, p. 140, linking Hittite 2pl. -teni with Vedic -thána (imperative -tana) as against Skt. -tha (imperative -ta).

One isolated form of the mediopassive imperative 2pl. occurs in dialectal *-i* (for *-eni*) as in *fali!*'greet, be pardoned',*gëzohi!* 'rejoice',an ending that reflects Sicilian-Albanian *do të priri* (for *do të* $^{+}$*prireni*) 'you will return' (Schirò). The reason for this is not clear, but a truncated 2pl. appears also in the 2pl. optative of all Albanian verbs.

The Etymological Background of the Albanian Verb

(pages 126-136, and cf. p. 140)

jam 'am': Skt. ásmi : Av. ahmi : OPer. amiy :Per. am : Hitt. esmi : Arm. em : Myc. e- : Gk. eimí : Dor. Aeol. emmí : Lat. sum : Osc. súm : MIr. isam : W wyf : Br. un : Go. im : OE eom : OSw. æm : OIcel. em : OCS jesmi (and common Sl.) : OLith. esmi : Latv. esmu. IE $^{+}$esmi. Pr.subj: (të) *jem*,etc. : Skt. syām,etc. IE $^{+}$si̯ēm (si̯em). Page 126.

kam 'have',2.3sg. *ke*, *ka* (dial. *kat* in Tosk, 3sg. 'has'). Of unknown origin, but in view of the aorist *patshë*, and *pata* 'I had', and the infinitive and pp. *pasë*, T *patur* in relation to Lat. potis : Skt. patiḥ: Gk. pósis,etc. and the Latin verb possum, the required sense of l.sing. *kam*, and its aoristic 2.3sg. forms *ke*, *ka* (cf. *thashë*, *the*, *tha*)would seem to be 'have acquired'. The Latin (isolated) perfect-present(?) of type inquam,-is,-it 'quoth' suggests an obsolete verb of similar type $^{+}$nēquam,-is,-it $^{+}$'am unable', giving rise on the one hand to an isolated adjective nēquam 'worthless', and a re-formation nequeō 'am unable'. Thus Alb. kam : Latin $^{+}$-quam. Speculations in Ernout-Meillet DELL pp. 567 and 980 ; Sommer HLLF pp. 488 & 538 ; Walde-Hofmann LEW I,703 and II, 402. Page 127.

thom, *them* 'say', 2.3sg. *thue*, *thotë* : Skt. śā́smi 'order, teach': Av. sasmi 'speak, order' ; sãsmi 'teach' : OPer. a-thaham 'I said' beside thātiy 'says' (= Alb. *thotë*) : Arm. asem, əsem 'speak, say, tell' :OCS cf. (with nasal infix) sęti, sętĭ 'says'. IE $^{+}$k̂ēsmi, 3sg. k̂ēsti (beside $^{+}$k̂ēns-). Page 127.

vete(m) 'go', 1pl. *vemi*. The singular forms seem to contain a suffix *te*, incorporated as an inflection, in the sense of 'there, thither';IE $^{+}$tō.

Cf. a similar suffix in the 3rd. sing. imperfect of *jam*, viz.*ishte* beside *ish* 'he was', *kishte* beside *kish* 'he had',etc.(See pp. 129 & 150)

The plural forms reflect the athematic Sanskrit verb wemi 'I go',1pl. vimaḥ, 3pl. vyánti : Hitt. we(mi) 'I come' , 3s. wici (or weci),3.plural wenci or wanci. Boisacq DELG equates the Skt. form with the defective v. eísato 'he went'.

The aorist *vojta* (T *vajta*) seems to reflect a long-grade of the radical, viz. +u̯ēi̯, with t-inflections suggesting an original progressive past tense no longer recognized as such. See pages 161 & 162.

Note on *dhimb* 'hurt'. The vocalism of this verb suggests a back-formation from the mp. impersonal *dhímbet* 'it hurts', where -i- represents the stressed IE +-e- in two consecutive +-e's (cf. *jemi* 'we are', from IE esmés : Doric eimés). Buzuk (1555) and some Northern dialects have an isolated form *dhimt* 'it hurts', whose zero-vocalism echoes the athematic inflection of *tho-të* 'he says'. (Page 159)

A fragmentary relic of an athematic verb occurs in *u-ij* 'he went away' implying a mediopassive +íhem 'I go away', for which cf. Gk. eĩmi, pl. ímen 'shall go'; Lat. eo,etc. The verb is peculiar to Buzuk (1555).

Open radicals

These have a variety of aorist forms (1) sigmatic (1sg: -*shë*),(2) dental (1sg. -*ta*), (3) labial (1sg. -*va*), (4) nasal (rhotacism in Tosk), with vowel-reduction in the root (1sg. -*na*, T -*ra*). See pages 129-130. Some have anomalous aorists.

ble 'buy', aor. *bleva*. Of uncertain origin, but if from a type +blegh- , cf. OHG phlëgan , MHG phlëgen,sv.5.'see to, have, get, do, execute , use, grant, speak for',etc.etc.for which there are"no certain cognates outside Gmc." (Kluge DEW 17). (?besorgen > kaufen). Mod. *blej*.

di 'know', aor. *dijta* ; cf. Skt. dhīḥ,pl. dhiyaḥ 'knowledge' : Alb.*dije*, id.; Vedic dīdhīye 'think'; denom. dhiyāmi,id. beside Skt.dhyāmi,id.

fle'sleep', aor. *fjeta*. Of uncertain origin, but apparently a cpd., cf. Gk. lékhomai 'lie down': OCS po-ležǫ,id. IE+apo-leghō.

ha 'eat', aor. *hângra*, *hëngra* (trimoric reflex > *â*,*ë*,see pp.40,41). For the present tense, cf. Skt. khādāmi 'chew, eat': Romani xav 'eat' (an onomatopoeic root). For the aorist, a synthetic cpd. whose second element contains the radical +gu̯r̥- ,cf. Lat. -vorus '-eating', e-grade in vescor 'eat' (fr. ⁺gu̯ersk̂-) and in OCS žerǫ 'devour': Li. geriù,gérti 'drink'; gerklẽ 'throat'.(Page 129) The pp. ngrânë, ngrënë represents a type ⁺en-gu̯r̥nos, the simplex in Skt. gīrṇāḥ,pp. 'swallowed', beside giraṇam,s. 'swallowing', the cpd. in (e-grade) Lith. į-gériu 'drink in". (G.Meyer, cited by Boisacq DELG: vorá)

lâ,lë 'let, leave', aor. lashë. Apparently from a type ⁺ladnō, implied ⁺lad- in Lat. lassus. Page 129. (G.Meyer thus, see lë in EWAS)

le 'am born', aor. leva (mod. frequently a diathematic type lej,2.3. sg. len). A verb of uncertain historical vocalism. A monosyllabic radical lind (type tund, p. 130) in Tosk suggests a semantic parallel with G. lind, OHG lindi : Lat. lentus : Lith. leñtas,etc. (see Kluge DEW 17: lind), as well as with Gothic af-linnan 'depart': Hes. línamai,etc.cf. Feist GEW: af-linnan). Uncertain prototype form for Albanian le.

mba 'hold, keep', aor. mbajta (now universally a diathematic type mbaj , 2.3.sg. mban) : Gk. ⁺empáomai 'acquire'; émpāma 'property' : empā́sis, Arc. impāsis 'acquisition'; the simplex in Doric páomai, inf.pāsasthai 'get'; Cretan pāstās 'owner',etc. (Boisacq ⁺k̂u̯- untenable, since IE ⁺k̂u̯-> Gk. s- as in sálos, salpízō, sélas, sītos,etc.). IE en-pă-

pi 'drink', aor. piva : Gk. píomai 'will drink' : OCS pijǫ, piti 'drink'. IE ⁺pi-,pī-.

⁺râ (?) 'run, run away; flow'. An obsolete verb found only in Buzuk as an aorist runa, 3sg. ru; 1pl. rumë,etc. The aorist vocalism suggests the zero-grade of a type ⁺rinu̯ō (OHG rinnan,etc.).

vê,vë 'put', aor. vûna, vura, pp. vû-më, T vënë, archaic: vutë (Buz.).Of uncertain origin. Cf. Tokh. was, wäs- 'give' (?).

zâ, nxâ; zë, nxë 'take, seize , learn', aor. zûna, nxûna; zura, nxura,pp. zânë, zënë,etc. IE ⁺gu̯henmi (with vowel-compensation resulting in â, ë,see pages 40,41. For a similar feature in zâ, def. zâni, T zë,zëri, m. 'voice', from ⁺ĝu̯honos,is, cf. Skt. jhanāmi 'resound' : Per. zabān 'tongue, speech' : Arm. dzajn 'voice' : Lat. honōs 'honour' (fr.a type ⁺ĝu̯honeu̯es : OCS zvonŭ 'bell' : Latv. zvāns,id.. Cf. also the equivalence of zânë 'fairy' and Rumanian zînă). For zâ,zë 'take, seize',etc. cf. Skt. hánmi : Av. jainmi : OPer. -janam : Per. zanam : Arm.ǧanam : Hitt. kwemi (for ⁺kwenmi) : Gk. thénō : Go. winnan : OCS ženǫ : Lith. genù : Latv. dzenu. An iotacized variant occurs in Alb. përzâj, aor.

përzûna 'chase away' : Gk. theínō : OCS žinję 'mow down'; po-žinję'kill': Lith. geniù 'lop', all from $^{+}$gu̯heni̯ō ; the zero-grade of (për)zûna etc. being reflected in the OCS infinitive žęti : Lith. ginti : Latv.dzīt, etc. Alb. zûna from $^{+}$gu̯hnou-

Anomalous forms

ap, 2.3sg. ep; pl. apim, ipni, apin (variant jap, jep,etc. with prefixed redundant pronoun, see page 120). Aorist dhashë, dhe, dha; plural dhamë, dhatë, dhanë. Pp. dhân-un, T dhënë. The present tense, reflected also in the imperfect (ipshe, ipnja), and the present subjunctive (të ap, të jap,etc.) appears to derive from a root $^{+}$op-, cf. Skt. apnas 'property, wealth, work': Lat. opes,pl.'power, wealth'; opulens 'rich' : Illyr. (personal names) Aplus, Apla, and Oplus, Opla beside Teuti-aplos :Lith. apstas 'abundance'; apstùs 'abundant'. The aorist is of uncertain origin. See p. 164: ap 'give'.

due, T dua, 2.3sg. don, abbreviated to the invariable form do as a future and conditional formant (as Gk. thélō to tha, Rum. vreŭ to va , Srb. hoću to ću, see page 125): cf. Gk. déō 'need, lack', fut.deēsō , the impersonal deī, dēj 'must, need',etc. The aorist desha seems to represent a formula $^{+}$dhousi̯ou-, with a variant deshta taken over from the t-formula, pages 161-2. See pp. 139 & 163: due 'wish,like'.

drue, T drua (usually druaj in T, with diathematic vowel), 2.3sg. dron , but Buz. dro. Aorist dreshta (Kristoforidhi: drasha beside $^{+}$dresha?) : Lith. drovà; drovētis 'shyness; be shy'. See pp.29 & 163:drue'fear'.

bie (1)'bring', aor. prûna, prura. IE $^{+}$bher- is apparent only from the imperative singular; elsewhere IE $^{+}$-r- has disappeared. The reason for this is not clear. The aorist may be a cpd. of për and vûna,see vê , but such a cpd. is already accounted for in the nasal diathematic përvûj, aor. përvûna 'humiliate, humble'.

bie (2) 'strike; fall', aor. rashë. For the present tense, and the present-based forms, the same rules apply as for bie (1); cf. Lat. feriō: OE berian,etc. IE $^{+}$bher-. The aorist appears to contain the element $^{+}$rou- 'fall', cf. Lat. ruō,etc.

shpie 'take away', aor. shpûna, shpura, a cpd. of bie(1). Type $^{+}$eǩs-bher.

shtie 'thrust, put', aor. shtiva, 3sg. shtiu; also shtîna, T shtira and shtyra, shtijta; pp. shtî-më, T shtirë, shtyrë, shtënë, shturë, and shtitur. As with bie (1) and (2) and shpie, the presumed^{+}-r- of the prototype appears in the imperative singular (shtier! shtjerë!) and in the 3rd. sing. pres. subjunctive (të shtjerë, cf. të bjerë, të shpjerë) as well as in the alternative form of the mp. (shtírem beside shtíhem) The alternative form shtírem also has an independent meaning 'feign, pretend'. The etymology is obscure. (G.Meyer: shtjell:shtie is confused and untenable).

Monosyllabic thematic verbs with stable internal vowel (some with prototype iotacism)

For etymological interpretation of dhimb, prek, qell, qep, qeth, përqeth, cys, ngul, shkul, shkel, kall and ther, see pages 158-9. Other examples are:

bind 'convince, persuade', a nasal infixed type related to Gk. peíthō, id., with the zero-vocalism of pithanós 'persuaded', etc. IE $^{+}$bhindh-.

brydh 'crumble; loosen (soil)'; i brydhët 'friable' : OW breu, Wel.brau 'brittle, fragile' : MHG brücken (beside brocken) 'crumble' : OHG. brocchōn, id. (denom.) ; cf. Du. brok 'fragment' : Latv. birstu, birzt 'crumble' (Latv. birzts : Alb. i brishtë 'crumbly'). IE $^{+}$bhr̥ĝ-, $^{+}$-tos.

cuk 'stab; squeeze, cram' ; cf. Lat. tūc-ētum 'forcemeat': MHG diuhen 'press, shove': OE þēowan 'press, force, crush, push, stab, threaten, grapple with' : OIcel. þjá 'force, enslave' : Cz. Srb. cukati 'buffet, push, knock' : Blg. čukam 'bang, beat, clink'. IE $^{+}$teuqṷō.

deh 'intoxicate' : Skt. dhvasye 'fall, fail, perish' (Alb.$^{+}$ i dehët, adj. 'drunk' : Skt. pp. dhvastáḥ 'dead, perished') : Lat. ferus 'wild' ; (long-grade in) OE dwaes ian 'become silly' : MHG ver-twāsen, MLG -dwāsen 'befool, do in' : Du. ver-dwazen 'infatuate' : Li. dvesiù, inf. dvēsti 'expire' beside dvęsu (:Skt. dhváṃsāmi), dvesti 'choke': Latv. dvešu, dvēst 'breathe, gasp'. IE $^{+}$dhṷes-, $^{+}$dhṷēs-.

dívet, mp. 'it dawns' : Skt. dīvyati (2) 'shine' : Av. dīvyei-, id. : OCS divljǫ sę, diviti sę 'be surprised'; the link is seen in the adjectival forms of Skt. divyáḫ 'divine' : Arm. dir, diwr 'god, idol': Myc. Diwijo- (man's name)': Gk. díïos, dīos 'godlike, great' : Lat. dīus 'heavenly, noble' : MIr. diada 'divine' : OW dydd, pl. diew 'day':Br. dé-ol, W duwi-ol 'godly' : OCz. diví 'wonderful' : OCS divij 'strange, etc.'; Latv. dīvains, id. IE $^{+}$dīṷ-, with cognate forms in other vocalic grades.

drudh (expressive variant: drrudh) 'crush, pound; squeeze (grapes)';-em, mp.'hurtle, dash': Ir. druidim 'force, shut, cram' : SWGer. trotten 'press (grapes)' : Go. trudan 'tread' : OIcel. troða 'press,cram,wear, tread'. IE $^{+}$drudh-

dúkem 'appear' : Hes. deúkō 'look, heed, consider'. IE $^{+}$deuk-.

dynd 'press, move, remove, stir' ; cf. Arm. dndçem 'bang' : MIr.donn,adj. 'pregnant' : OE dynt 'blow' : EME dint,id. beside Mod.E. to dunt, vb. 'to crack (of unglazed ware) in firing-oven' : OIcel. dunn 'troop' , beside dyttr 'din' (equated by F.Holthausen) and dyntr 'crash' : Lith. dùndu, -ḗti 'roar, rumble, echo, drone' : Latv. dundēt,id. IE^{+}dhundō, -i̭ō.

harr, herr 'hoe, weed, prune', from an R-grade root $^{+}$skər- 'cut', cf.Arm. xarem 'distinguish': OIr. scaraim 'divide, separate, cut off' ;scarim 'cut' : OW ysgar 'part, leave' : OBr. inf. scarat 'to cut' : OHG, MHG skerren, scheren 'divide, share' : OE scearian 'allot',(scieran 'cut': Du. scheren 'shave,shear' are fr. e-grade sker-): Lith. skarstu,skarti 'fray, get tattered'. Reduplication in Arm. xarxarem 'shatter'.

josh 'charm' (G) ; cf. Gk. iéïós 'hail' : OIcel. œsa 'incite'; oesi-,px. 'very'; perhaps also Cz. jas 'brightness, joy' (fr. i̭ās- or^{+}i̭āk̂s-).IE (Albanian type) $^{+}$i̭āsi̭ō (or $^{+}$i̭āk̂si̭ō).

kap 'seize, catch' : Gk. kápō, káptō'snap, gobble up' : Lat. capiō'seize, take' : W câf (fr. $^{+}$kapmi), 3sg. caiff (fr. $^{+}$kapti) 'will have, will get' : Go. hafjan 'raise, heave' , beside haban 'have'; cf. MHG haben, hân (1) 'hold' : OIcel. hefja 'heave, raise, begin', beside Sw. håva 'catch, net (fish)'; cf. Lith. kápt! 'grab!' beside (IE $^{+}$kāp- in)kopiu, kopti 'grab' : Latv. kapju, kapt 'climb' beside kāpju,t(2)'take'. Albanian type kapō. (Feist's uncertainty about haban in VWGS is unjustified).

kep 'hew, chip, carve' : Gk. kóptō 'hit'; cf. OE hafetian 'clap,flap' , beside (IE $^{+}$ā in) OIcel. hoefa 'hit' : OCS kopnǫ, -nǫti 'dig', beside kopajǫ,id. : Lith. kapoju 'hack, chop' : Latv. kapāju,id. Cf.also Li. kaplys : Latv. kaplis 'chopper'. Alb. type^{+}kopi̭ō.

krok, krokem (expressive variant: krrok) 'caw, croak' : Lat. crācō,id. : OCS kračǫ, krakati (and com. Sl.),id. : Lith. krokiu,ti 'grunt':Latv.

krācu, krākt,id. (W. crawcio 'croak, caw'has the appearance of a recent denominative). IE +krāk-.

lag 'wet' : Norw. ulka, ulke 'slime': OCS vlŭg-ŭkŭ 'wet' : Li. vilgstu , vilgti 'grow damp'; vilgau, yti 'dampen'; cf. also MHG wolken, wulken 'cloud, "welkin"', beside wolkern, wulkern 'cloudy urine'. IE +u̯l̥g-. The presence of -a- in *lag* is due to compensation for loss of +u̯-,cf. *i parë* 'first', from a type +pr̥u̯os as in Skt. pūrvaḥ : Av. paurvō:OP. parūva- : Tokh. pärwe : Sequanian priou-dixivos (= Skt. pūrva-dakṣina 'south-eastern'): OCS prŭvŭ,etc. Cf compensatory -a- also in *valë* 'wave', from +u̯l̥nā, as in Oss. wlän : OCS vlŭna : Lith.Latv. vilnis.

lidh 'tie, bind', beside *lidhë* 'bond, tie', *lidhëm* 'tie, knot'. Cognate forms are nouns, with the exception of Latin ligāre 'tie', a denominative from a noun represented by It. lega 'league, union' : Rumansch: lia, ligia,id. : Ir. liog 'limb, nerve': long grade in OIcel.lík'bolt-rope' (and common Norse) . The extended form *lidhëm* is reflected in W llyfan 'string, rope' : Cor. lovan,id. : Br. liamm 'bond'(if not a LW,cf. Lat. ligāmen 'thong'). IE +liĝ- (+līĝ-).

lodh 'tire': Hes. lēdeĩn 'be tired' : Br. liza 'decay, become gangrenous' beside lizia 'rot, decompose',tr. : Go. lētan 'let,leave' : OE lætan 'allow, free, leave'. Cf. also MHG lāʒ 'release; offal' : OIcel. lát 'loss, death' ; láta 'put, give up, leave, lose' : Nor. lāt 'lazy'.IE +lēd-.

narth, *nerth*, 2.3sg. *nerth*, aor. *nertha*, pp. *narth-un* 'feel cold'(*i narthun*, *i nerthët* 'cold') ; cf. Gk. narkē 'torpor' (+snr̥k̂-) and e-grade MHG snërhan 'tie, constrict' ; o-grade OHG snaraha, OE snēarh 'snare, noose'. Alb. +snork̂-, +snerk̂-.

ndesh 'clash, meet with' ; radical in Tokh. b tak-, tek- 'touch',the extension (+toks-) in Lith. taksiù, ḗti 'beat, throb, tick'. Alb. type +en-toksi̯ō.

ndez 'ignite' ; cf. Skt. dañhayāmi 'shine, burn' : Lat. foveō 'warm, foment'. Alb. type en-dhogu̯hei̯ō.

ngardh 'stigmatize, blemish, trick' ; simplex in Skt. kárjāmi 'torment , hurt' : Oss. cf. karz 'strict' : Arm. korcem (1) 'beat' : OIcel.harka 'rack, torment'. Alb. type +en-korĝō.

ngath 'benumb'; *shkath* 'limber up, loosen up' ; radical in Av. kasus,adj.

'puny' ; Per. kāstan 'decrease'; kast 'diminutive' : Oss. käs-tär,cp. 'junior' ; Arm. osin 'lean, dry; osnim 'grow lean, dry' : Ukr.kosnyti 'fade' : R kosnyj 'sluggish' : Lith. kašiù, ḗti 'dwindle, pine,wither'. Radical $^+$qṷok̂-. Alb.$^+$en-qṷok̂-,$^+$ek̂s-quok̂- (the Arm. form indicates $^+$qṷ- not$^+$k-).

ngjesh 'gird, put on (belt)'; cf. Av. (aiwi-)yāh- 'gird', pp. yāsta :Gk. zṓnnūmi, fut. zṓsō,id. :OLi. juosmi 'gird oneself', beside Li. juosiu,ēti 'gird, put on (belt)' : Latv. jožu, jozt (sic),id. Cf. also OCS po-jasŭ 'belt'. Alb. type$^+$en-i̭ōsi̭ō.

ngul 'thrust in'; shkul 'pull out', radical -kul 'strike, force'in Lat. culiō,īre 'bang, shake hard'; perculiō, pf. perculī 'strike down':Li. kuliù, kulti 'hammer, beat' : Latv. kuļu, kult,id. IE $^+$kuli̭ō(1).

përkul 'bend', cf. shkul 'skein, hank'; cf. Skt. kuṇiḥ 'bent, lame,crooked' (for $^+$kulnis) : Arm. kuy, kyo,gen.sg. 'fold, plait, strand': Gk. kullós 'bent'. IE$^+$kuli̭ō (2).

përmbys 'overthrow, overturn', from a type$^+$pro-en-buzdi̭ō, radical in Gk. bússa 'bottom' : Alb. bythë 'arse' : Cz. bzdy 'arse', cpd. in Greek: embúthios 'at the bottom'.

shesh (Geg) 'level, flatten' ; përshesh 'grind, crush' : cf. i sheshët , adj. 'level' (influenced by shesh 'plain', fr. Lat. sessus) : Oss. cf. xäst 'held; bitten';s.'fight; bite' : Per. xasam 'chew' : Greek kséō, pp. ksestós as adj. 'scrape, rake, polish' ; cf. (with IE$^+$-ē-) Cz. šášeň 'shipworm, teredo', also possibly Srb. po-šast 'epidemic' , and R šàstať 'husk (oats); traipse about'. IE $^+$kses- ($^+$ksēs-).

plas 'bang, crack, burst' ; beside the intensive continuant pëlcás, aor. pëlcita,id.cf. Ir. laiscim 'strike, slap' : MHG vlasche 'blow' (LW in It. fiasco) : LG flaschen 'flash, dash, start, succeed' : Du vlassen op 'long for' : Icel. flaska 'go wrong, fail' . IE $^+$plaksk̂ō ($^+$plask-).

purth, përpurth 'defile'; -em 'have diarrhoea', from a type $^+$pr̥sd- (with u-basis syllabic $^+$r̥); cf. Cz. prznit 'to defile'. The general sense seems to be 'spotted, stained', cf. Skt. pṛdākuḥ'(spotted) panther , snake' : Per. palang 'leopard, tiger' : Gk. párdos 'leopard,panther', párdion 'giraffe' , párdalos'plover or starling' , párdalis'($^+$spotted) fish'. Despite the usual representation of IE u-basis $^+$r̥ as Alb. -ru- (as in grûnë, grurë 'wheat' : OCS zrŭno : Ger. Korn,etc. and in frûth 'measles' : Skt. spṛ́śaḥ 'touching' , spṛ́śniḥ 'speckled, dappled': Latin spurcus 'dirty' (here despite WH and EM), the +-r̥- formula for purth is preferable on semantic grounds to a formula +purk̂- : Italian porco, f. porca 'dirty').

puth 'kiss'; përputh 'fit together' ; cf. Av. pusa 'diadem' : Gk. púka 'fitting, flush' ; puknós 'compact' ; cf. ám-pux, -pukos 'chaplet of sequins' (+ambh- +). IE +puk̂-. (Irish poc 'kiss', Br. poki'to kiss' derive from a variant +phuk̂-). The form puthis, pp puthit-un,-ur is a "Slavicized" variant (aor. puthita), in the sense of 'fit'.

rregj 'tan, steep; clean; mend; toughen' : Gk. rhézō 'do, perform,cause', cf. Hes. á-rrēktos 'un-plowed': Lesb. a-urēktos,id. : MHG rëchen (1) wreak, avenge' : Du. zich wreken'avenge oneself' : OE wrecan 'drive ; fulfil; banish; persecute,etc.' Alb. and Gk. type+u̯regi̯ō.

rrudh 'wrinkle' ; cf. Lat. rūga 'wrinkle' , and perhaps Cz. rýha 'rut',if not a LW. IE +u̯ruĝ-, u̯rūĝ-.

shosh 'sift' : Gk. sáō,id. beside dia-ttáō,id. cf. sẽsis, Doric sãsis 'sifting' and Skt. syam 'winnowing-basket' ; Gk. inscr. essēménos,pp. 'sifted' Cz. pro-seju,-síti, Morav. -saju,--sát 'sift' :Lith. sijoju, Latv. sijāju,id. Alb. type +si̯āsi̯ō (: Gk. fut. +sēsō)

shterr 'run dry' : Oss. stä́lĭn, Dig. astä́lun 'collapse' : Gk.steírō, tr. make barren ; steréō 'deprive' ; (long-grade in) Lith. stēru, stērstu, inf. stērti 'grow numb, turn to wood or stone'; cf. Lat. sterĭlis,adj. 'sterile'. IE +ster- (+stēr-). A variant occurs in shtroh, shtrof 'run dry' : Lith. stērstu, cf. Lat. sterilescō 'grow barren'. Alb. type +sterēsk̂ō (with reduced root-vowel), an inceptive-progressive of type rrah, rraf, page 131, and see also below. A related form is the noun shterrë 'heifer' (from +steri̯ə): Skt. starīḥ, acc. staryám,id.: Tokh. B sc̣ire 'stiff, hard' : Arm. ťeri 'defective' : Gk. steĩros,adj. 'sterile' : Go. staírō,w.f. 'barren female animal' : MHG stĕr,-e, w.m. 'ram'. Cf. also Lat. sterĭlis, beside OLat. sterilus (Lucretius): Li. sterilùs 'sterile'.

tek (Buzuk) 'covet' ; më téket, impers. 'I fancy' ; ftékem 'mull over , think over': Hitt. tākki 'equals' : OCS po-taka and po-taky, gen. sg. potakŭve 'indulgence, flattery, tolerance' (:Alb. ftek-) : R po-tak - nuť 'connive at , indulge' : Blg. tača 'esteem' ; (perh.) Li. tuokiù, tuõkti 'betroth, give in marriage'; refl. 'marry', especially in view of Lith. teku, tekēti 'marry (a man)' in relation to tekti 'befall, happen'. IE +tōk- 'bring together, make touch, liken; meet' (beside IE tek- 'meet, etc.').

ftíkem 'run dry' (N);(back-formation from the mp. in *ftik* 'dry').From a type +apo-tek-. For the simplex cf. Skt.tákmi, tákāmi 'rush': Av.tak-, tač- 'run, flow' Tokh. B cake 'river' : OCS tekǫ, tešti 'flow': OCz. teku, teci 'run (as horse), flow' : Li. tekù, -ēti 'run, flow': Latv. teku, tecēt 'flow, leak'. IE +tek-.

trând (N) 'shake' (Slavonic LW doublet in *trondís*, aor. -*díta*,id.): Pol. trącić 'jolt': R trutìť 'bruise'; cf. Gk. tromētós 'trembling'. IE +tromt-.

trus, *trys* 'force, compress, bruise, trap' : Lat. trūdō 'thrust' : MHG drieȝen 'press, drive, threaten' : OE þrēotan 'worry, weary': Go.cpd. us-þriutan 'trouble, distress'. Alb. type +treudi̯ō. A compound also occurs in *mtrus* 'cram, stuff' (fr. +ămbhi-treud-?).

tund 'shake' : Skt. tunde,mp.'strike'; tundāmi 'be active' ; cf. Persian tund 'swift, violent' (: Ir. tonn 'agile'; s. 'wave' : W twn 'fractured' : Br. tuñ 'docked, snubnosed') ; Gk. Tundarídai 'epithet of the gods of Thunder and Lightning (Castor and Pollux): Lat. tundō,pf. tutudī 'beat' : Ir. tonnaim 'flay, tan'. IE +tund-, nasalized form of +tud-.

turr 'rush', a zero-grade radical related to Skt. tvárāmi, pp. tūrtáḥ & tūrṇaḥ 'rush' (pp. as adj. 'swift'). The Alb. form = OIcel.þyrja'rush, sweep' , and (with long-grade vowel) Blg. tirja 'chase away'. Alb. type +turi̯ō. (A Slavonicized form *turrís*, aor. -*íta* 'scare' (N) is equivalent phonologically to Umbrian tursitu 'let him chase away').

tharb 'sour'; s.'acid', seems to contain the elements of Lat. acerbus,aj. 'sharp, tart, bitter', and perhaps of Slovene sráb 'itch'; srbéti,vb. IE +k̂orb- (?). A parallel pattern occurs in MHG herbe, herwe 'harshness, tartness', cf. Ger. herb & harb 'tart', from +k̂oru̯- (beside variant +k̂orbh-?).

thuk 'squeeze, hurt' (N) : Skt. cpds. -śučyāmi, pp. śuktáḥ (:Alb.i thukët, i thuktë 'compressed') 'feel pain, smart' ; Ved. 'burn':Per. sūg 'grief'; sūzam 'burn': Oss. sūdzĭn, Dig. sodzun 'burn, smart'; (long grade in Cz. sykat (bolestí) 'wince (with pain)'; Latv. sūkstēt 'burn, sting'. IE $^{+}$k̂uk- ($^{+}$k̂ūk-) (or $^{+}$k̂uqṷ-,k̂ūqṷ-).

vesh 'put on (clothes); mp. víshem 'get dressed' : Skt. váse,mp.'wear' : Av. vas- 'dress' : Tokh. A.B. wäs- : Arm. z-genum 'get dressed':Hitt. wes(mi), wasami, wasiyami 'put on (clothes)': Gk. heĩmai 'wear', beside hennūmi, fut. hesō 'put on (garment)'; cf. Lat. vestis 'garment'. O-grade in Goth. wasjan 'put on (clothes)': OE werian,id. and'wear'.

Dental i̭o-stems with -t- preserved in the aorist

(cf.pages 133-4)

cus,cys, aor. cuta, cyta 'incite' : Skt. čodāmi, čodayāmi (and ograde todayāmi),id. ; Pol. cudzić 'tug, beat, train' : Srb. ćudam se 'am scared'. IE $^{+}$teud-. An apparent variant occurs in Polish cucić'rouse' , from $^{+}$teuti̭ō. It will be noted that the final dental,when iotacised , is uniformly represented in Albanian verbs by -s (alternating with -t) not by -z for^{+}-di̭..as against -s for^{+}ti̭ — the expected pattern.

fus, aor. futa 'thrust' : Gk. speúdō 'urge' ; o-grade in Li. spaudžiù , spausti 'press'. IE $^{+}$speud-, Alb. type $^{+}$speudi̭ō, Lith type^{+}spoudi̭ō.

jes, aor. jeta and ita 'remain' ; mbes, aor. mbeta,id. ; pres,aor. prita 'wait'. A word of unknown origin, but with compound forms displaying the IE prefixes $^{+}$ămbhi- and $^{+}$per- or $^{+}$pro-.The second form usu.mbétem.

mas, aor. mata 'measure' : Latv. matu, matīt 'sense' : Li. matau,-yti,v. 'see' (cf. also OCS motrjǫ, -iti 'look'). The simplex occurs also as a noun in Alb. masë, matë 'measure' (from^{+}moti̭ə,$^{+}$motis or $^{+}$motā), cf. Gk. á-motos 'excessive' (= semantically Alb. pa-masë 'without measure, excessive') (no etym. in Bois.; Hof. untenable); cf. also ẽ-mos, Dor. ã-mos 'when, while' ; tẽ-mos 'then' (a cpd. similar to Lith. tuo-mèt, id.) : Lith. mãtas 'measure' : Latv. mats 'corn-measure, milling-fee'. IE $^{+}$mot-. Alb. verb-type $^{+}$moti̭ō.

mpshtes, pshtes, aor. -eta 'support, prop'. Type $^{+}$(en-)upo-sthădi̭ō. For the simplex, cf. Gk. stádios 'firm, stable' : Ir. stadaim 'stop,wait, dwell, cease; stammer' : MHG statzen 'sit bolt upright; boast; stammer'.

ngjis, aor. ngjita 'stick (with glue,etc.)'; shqis, aor. shqita 'unstick' etc. Type $^{+}$en-, ek̂s-gliti̭ō. For the simplex cf. Hes. glítton 'glue', with expressive doubling : Lat. glis, gs. glitis 'potter's clay': OE cliða 'poultice', cliðe 'burdock' : Lith. glitis,ies 'slime'; glitas 'slime, glue' ; glitùs 'slippery, sticky, slimy, smooth'; glitē 'mucus' : Latv. glita 'slime'; glits 'slimy, smooth'. IE +glit-, Alb. type +glitii̭ō. A variant occurs in Gk. glisterós 'slippery, smooth' : MHG klīster 'glue' ; cf. OCS glista 'tapeworm' and Latv. glīzda (variant) 'loam'.

nxis, and (N) *zis*, aor. *nxita*, *zita* 'urge, rouse' , the simplex in Alb. *zitë* 'incitement' beside *nxitë* 'haste' : Av. jītis 'life'; prob. Hit. hwitar 'animals', cf. perhaps Gk. bol-biton (lit. "animal castings") 'dung' : Lat. vīta 'life' (if not contracted from a type +gṷīṷətā) : Osc. biítam,acc. id. : Go. (short vowel) qiþus 'womb' : OE cwið : ON kviðr,id. : OIr. bethu 'life' : W byd 'world', beside bid (IE +-ī-),m. 'quickset hedge' : OCS žitĭ (= Av. jītis) 'life' ; cf. Latv. dzīt,inf. 'rally, revive'. Alb. type +(en-)gṷītii̭ō.

përshtás, aor. *përshtata* 'suit, fit, adapt'. Type +pro- (or +per-)sthati̭ō, radical in Skt. sthitáḥ : Gk. statós : Lat. status : Li. statùs,etc.

qes, aor. *qita* 'put out , pour, shed'; beside *qetë* 'escarpment,crag' : OIr. cithim, Ir. ceathaim 'pour, shower down', beside cíoth,pl.ceathanna 'shower' : Lith. kečiu, kēsti 'stretch, spread', beside ketùs,m. 'cast-iron' (cf. G. Guss-eisen,id. : giessen 'pour'): Latv.ķets,id. Alb. type +keti̭ō.

rris, aor. *rrita* 'grow;tr.,'train'; mp. *rrítem* 'grow',intr. : OE wrīðian, wrīdian (2) 'grow'; (+-i- in) wrid 'shoot, plant' : Lith. rýtas 'morning' : Latv. rīts,id. beside e-grade Lith. riečiù, riẽsti 'rear, become luxuriant' : Latv. riešu, riest, p.t. rietu 'develop, extend' ; rietē, 3s., inf. rietēt 'become distended'. IE +ṷrīt- (+ṷreit-).

tres, aor. *treta* 'melt, dissolve, crush, destroy; *trétem*,mp. (also) perish'; cf. Gk. trōtós 'wounded, vulnerable' ; Ir. tráith-nín (2)'withered stalk' : OCS traštǫ, tratiti 'waste, consume'. IE +trōti̭ō. Cf. pages 148,149.

For the etymology of verbs in -h,(-f)see pages 160-161

(Cf. pages 131 & 153)

For the etymology of verbs displaying apophonic variation see pages 143 & 154-5

For the etymology of intensive continuant type see also pp. 132-3 & 145

The following verbs display the characteristics of the so-called "intensive continuant" type as represented in Greek by eráō, geláō; Latin tonāre (pf. tonuit), secāre, fricāre ; OCS padati (= Gk. pēdáō), sekati,etc. Etymologies are supplied where known. Aorist forms vary. The apparently native Albanian verbs differ from Slavonic loans in that the stem-vowel is converted to -e- in the 2.3sg., and to -i- in the 2pl. They differ also from Greek loans in that the latter retain -s- throughout their conjugation, and the stem-vowel is unchanged, so that they follow type fal in all respects other than the stressing, which is on the stem-vowel -a- throughout. The following scheme illustrates these points:

Albanian "intensive continuant" type: thërrás, 2.3sg. thërrét; aor. thërrita and thirra; imperative thirr ; inf. thërrit-un,-ur & thirr-un , -ur; mp. thërrítem and thírrem. The 2pl. pres is thërrisni or thërritni. The aor., imperative, pp. and mp. alternatives betray the etymological background of the verb (if traceable). Meaning:'cry'.

Slavonic loanword type: plevás, 2.3sg. plevát ; aor. plevata, pp.plevat-un,-ur, reflecting Srb. plivati, Blg. plivam,etc.Meaning:'swim,float, paddle'. Similarly zhigás 'bother', skopás 'castrate',etc.

Greek loanword type: anangás, aor. anangása, pp. anangas-un,-ur 'urge on' from Gk. anagkázō 'force'. Variant nagás, aor. nagása. Similarly kollás 'punish' (from kolázō), storásem 'stand on end',etc.

bërtás, aor. bërtita & brita 'cry, shout'. An onomatopoeic root, cf. Lat. frit-inniō 'chatter (like a bird)'(?) or Latv. brikšķēt 'bang'(?).

flas, aor. fola 'speak'. If a native word, from a type $^{+}$spēl-($^{+}$spēlāi̯ō)?

gërshás,aor. gërshita & grisha 'call, shout; invite'; (obs.) 'name'.From a type $^{+}$grīks-, cf. MHG krīschen 'shriek'($^{+}$-ī- : Ger. kreischen): Li. grikšiù, -ēti 'creak, grind'

gërthás, aor. gërthita 'cry, shout, croak' (a form gríthem,mp. is given as 'yearn, crave, lust', a word of independent origin). Type $^{+}$grik̂-(?)

humbás, aor. humbita and humba 'destroy, ruin; lose'. A parallel Geg vb. hup 'destroy, lose' indicates a prototype $^{+}$skump-: $^{+}$skup-, but of unknown connexions.

këlthás, aor. këlthita & klitha 'shout'. The radical represents an IE.

type +klī̆k̂- for which the evidence is wanting. Of similar formation, but with +klīk-, are OFris. hlīan 'declare' : OCS kličǫ, klicati and kliknǫ, -nǫti 'shout' : Lith. klykiù, klỹkti,id. Albanian *klithmë*, f. 'shout, cry' is similar in formation to Lith. klỹksmas,id.

këllás, aor. këllita and *kalla* 'thrust in, plug, insert, inter; incite': Skt. kalāmi, kalayāmi (2) 'push, drive' ;cf. Lat. intercalō,āre 'insert; delay, stop' : OCS koljǫ, klati 'stab' : Lith. kalu, kalti 'insert, drive in, forge, hammer'; ap-kalinti 'imprison'. Cf. also OIcel. heljast 'toil' ("drive oneself"). IE +kal-. Cf. p. 159: *shkel*.

kërcás, aor. kërcita and *krisa* 'bang, crack, report' . Type +krīkti̯- , a widespread onomatopoeic root, cf. (+-ĭ-) Gk. é-krikon 'I shouted': W crygu 'be hoarse' : Cz. křečet 'screech' : OFr. criquer 'creak,chirp'. IE +-ī- in OCS (and com. Slav.) kričǫ,-ati 'shout' : Li. krykiu,-ti , v. 'scream, cry (as bird), quack' ;cf. Latv. kriķis 'teal' (beside krīklis,id.).

mërdhás, aor. mërdhita & *mardha* 'feel (intense) cold' For the etymology see p. 161: *mërdhih* (*mërdhif*), a variant.

përkás, aor. përkita and *preka* 'touch, concern' (Buzuk has a form *prekás*). For a probable etymology see page 159: *prek*.

ngas, aor. ngava and *ngajta* 'touch, move, drive, attempt, attack, tempt, plough, tease, bother'. Inf. and pp. nga-më, ngarë and ngajtur. The vowel-mutation of the 2.3sg. *nget*, and of the 2pl. *ngisni*, *ngitni* indicate a native origin (as distinct from *nagás*, *anangás*, from Greek , see above, page 180). If from a type +en-kău̯- , the formula is reflected only in the aorist; cf. Av. fra-kava 'fight'; apa-kavō 'warrior' : Per. kā̆vam 'dig' : Oss. că̈vĭn, Dig. cavĭn 'hit' (caw 'chance': Gk. kau-nós 'lot', lit. "what strikes", cf. Gk. túkhē 'lot': tugkhánō 'hit'): Tokh. A ko-, B kau- 'strike, kill' ; cf. Pelasgian(?) Kabeiroi (for +kău-u̯īroi?) 'dwarf metal-workers of Vulcan' ; cf. Ir. caibe 'blade of spade' : Br. kawad 'surprise attack' : OHG houwan 'hew'(and common Gmc.): OCS kovǫ and kujǫ, inf. kovati and kuti 'forge': Lith. kauju, p.t. koviau, inf. kauti 'hew, strike': Latv. kauju, p.t. kā̆vu, inf. kaut 'kill'.

pëlcás, aor. pëlcita and *plasa* 'bang, burst'. For the radical (Alb. type +plakti̯-) cf. OE flēan 'flay' : Li. plakù, plàkti 'flog, skin,flay.

pëllás, aor. *palla* 'bray'. The radical is represented in *për-pall* 'blab out'; *sh-pall* 'declare' ($^{+}$pro-, $^{+}$ek̂s- °). The alternative aorist occurs in Spiro Dine's"Valët e detit": *pëllita* (T), and the simplex in Buzuk's Litany: *pall* 'declare'. Of uncertain origin. The verbal (as distinct from a nominal) simplex rules out an IE $^{+}$pel- as in Gk. a-pellō (2) 'boast, promise' : (3) 'threaten, warn' : Latv. peļu, pelt 'calumniate' ; (o-grade in paļas, f.pl. 'calumny'). Rather from a type $^{+}$pal-, cf. MIr. ailim 'implore' : Icel. fülun, g.s. falanir 'public demand, market' (?).

shkëlás, aor. *shkela*, pp. shkel-un 'tread, trample'. In this N. dialect word the alternative aorist does not arise. Elsewhere the verb is represented as *shkel* (type *fal*), a compound apparently related to *ngel* 'get stuck', the simplex in OCS koljǫ , klati 'thrust' : Lith. kalti etc. Albanian types $^{+}$ek̂s-kali̯ō, $^{+}$en-kali̯ō. See above: *këllás*.

shtërás, *shtrras*, aor. *shterra* 'run dry'. Alternative form (t-aorist unrecorded) of *shterr*, q.v. (page 176).

thërrás, aor. thërrita & *thirra* 'call, shout'. The verb exists also as a simplex *thirr* (type *fal*). The radical presumably derives from a type $^{+}$k̂irs-, but is untraceable.

(*vras*, aor. *vrava*, inf. and pp. vra-më,-rë 'kill'. A word apart from the "intensive continuant" type, it seems to represent a cpd.of type $^{+}$apo-routi̯ō, e-grade in Pol. rzucić 'throw' (rzut,m.'throw'): Czech řítiti se 'crash to the ground' (IE $^{+}$reut-). Cf. Alb. *rashë* 'I fell').

vërrás, aor. vërrita and *virra* 'bleat, whine'. Apparently from an onomatopoeic type $^{+}$u̯irn- (beside $^{+}$u̯rin- in Cz. vrnět 'whine' : Swed.dial. vrīna, id., extended as a type $^{+}$u̯rinsk̂- in MLG wrinscen : Du wrenschen, Dan.Nor. vrinske 'to neigh').

The following verbs appear to be Slavonic loanwords despite the (occasional)vowel-fronting in the present and aorist:

gërgás, aor. *gërgava* and *gërgita* 'provoke', cf. Srb. grgati 'to poke'.

gërhás, pp. gërhat-un, T gërhásur and gërhitur 'snore'. R. groxat', etc.

A discussion of the background of "intensive continuants" is given on p. 133. The presence of an aorist in -*va*, -*ve*, -*u* in the verbs *gërgás*'provoke', *ngas*'egg on', etc., *pres* (2) 'cut', and *vras* 'kill' has not been explained.

Diathematic verbs

(pages 134,146)

Primary diathematic verbs are mostly monosyllabic; others are either derivative (from nouns, adjectives, adverbs or other verbs), or reflect a Latin original (of Romance type as a rule), and have therefore a counterpart in Rumanian, which is mainly a Latin-derived language. A few Albanian verbs in -*o*- have no traceable simplex. Most neologisms, mainly denominatives, are of -*o*-stem, a highly productive type whose related noun ends in -*im*, m. A number of diathematics with stem-vowel -*a*-, -*i*- & -*u*-, and a few in -*o*-, form the aorist in -*ta*, -*te*, -*ti*, etc. rather than -*va* , -*ve*, -*u* (-*i*). Verbs with diathematic vowel -*e*- are of comparative recent occurrence and were, as far as can be traced, open monosyllabic radicals as described on pages 129 and 130, with or without internal vowel change, and with aorist varying between -*ta* and -*va*. The aorist in -*ta*, etc. is thought to have once represented a distinct past tense of progressive aspect. Although it is characteristic of the diathematic types, it occurs (once) in Buzuk attached to a monosyllabic root of closed type (*fal*, *tund*) viz. *dridh*, tr. 'shake', aor. *dridhta*, inf. and pp. *dridhtunë*. By the fact that the -*t*- is reflected in both the aorist and the infinitive-cum-participle it resembles the Germanic formation of the "weak" verbs as seen in English 'lived' and 'loved'.

In the following list the verbs are mainly primary; derivative verbs are listed if of especial interest. See pages 134 and 146.

çaj, aor. çava 'split' : Skt. čhyāmi 'cut' : Gk. skháō & skházō 'split'. IE +sk̂hai̯ō (√+skh-).

daj, aor. dava 'divide': Skt. dáye, id. : Av. day- 'impart' : Myc. & Gk. daíō, daíomai 'divide' ; cf. MHG zei-chen : OE tā-cn 'sign' (from a cpd. dăi-ĝnom, the second element as in MHG bou-chen : OE bēa-cn, cf. Gk. pháos, Pamph. phábos 'light', and Gk. a-gnoia, a-gnõs, etc.). IE +dăi-.

laj, aor. lava 'wash': Arm. lvam, id. : Hitt. lahhuhi 'pour', cf. lạhwahi, id. and lāhhus 'basin' : Gk. loúō, louéō and loéō 'wash, bathe': Lat. luō, -ĕre 'wash away'; -luō, in cpds. 'wash'; beside lavō, āre, id.; cf. Umb. vutu! wash! (:Lat. luitō) ; cf. MHG lō, gs. lōwes 'tan' Du. looi , id, beside looien 'tan, steep' ; Sw. löga 'bath, bathe'. For the noun cf. also Gk. lá-sana 'washstand' ($^{+}$fr. lăṷ-tṷăn-) (?)(but Bois.Hof.EW otherwise); OE mund-leow : OIcel. munn-laug 'wash-basin'. IE $^{+}$lău-.

mbaj, aor. mbajta 'hold, keep', beside mba (invariable in sing., base vowel constant, cf. ha, pp. 129,143,and 169-70).For the etymology, Skt. pāmi, an athematic, suggests a long-base variant, the short base occurring in cpds. such as aja-paḥ 'goat-herdsman' . Bois:páomai,etc.is untenable qua $^{+}$k̂ṷa-(?!); for Alb.mba- cf.Gk.émpāma'property'.

qaj, (archaic: klanj Buzuk), aor. qava (klava) and qajta 'weep' : Greek klaíō, fut. klaúsomai (vb.n. klaũma, adj: klautós),id. IE $^{+}$klău-.Variants occur in Gmc. ($^{+}$klāi̯ō in OHG hluoen 'roar, bellow': OE hlōwan : Du. loeien,id.) (Archaic Alb. tue klatë = Gk. tēj klaúsei , IE $^{+}$tāi̭ klautei).

shaj, aor. shava (pp. sha-më,-rë, but also shajtun in Gjakova)'abuse,revile'; cf. R xajat' 'blame, criticize'. Of uncertain background, but the initial consonant represents either IE $^{+}$ks- (in për-shesh, shij), or IE $^{+}$qṷs- (cf. shuej below). (Gk. psaíō 'crush' is a doubtful cognate). IE $^{+}$ksā̌iō (or $^{+}$qṷsai̭ō). The unrelated form shaj (2) 'sigh' , usually a cpd. fshâj, aor. fshâna (G) appears to be related to Greek (Hes.) apoksanãn 'to suffer'. The simplex, $^{+}$ksani̭ō.

thaj, aor. thava 'dry'. Equation with Gk. kaíō, fut. kaúsō 'kindle,burn' rests on the supposition of an IE initial $^{+}$k̂- (cf. also i thatë 'dry': Gk. kautós and kaustós,id., and probably OIcel. hauðr 'earth'(in the sense of Lat. terra: torrēre) and haust 'autumn' : Sw. höst).IE^{+}k̂aṷi̭ō. Cf. however OHG heian, MHG heien 'to burn'; Ger. dial. hei 'dry',also in Swiss Alemannic ge-hei,id. (fr. $^{+}$kai- or $^{+}$k̂ai-).

vej, aor. vejta 'weave, twist' : Skt. váyāmi, vaye, id. beside vyáyāmi, pp. vītáḥ 'wrap, envelop' : Av. vī-,id. : Oss. biin, pp. bĭd 'twist': Myc.cf. wej- (queried) 'tyre' : Hitt. wehmi 'turn' : Lat. vieō, -ēre, 'twist' : Fris. wije 'throw' : Obr. cf. gueig 'weaving' : W gwau,gueu 'weave' ; Br. cf. gwiad 'web, tissue': OCS vijǫ, viti 'wind, twist' : Lith. vejù, výti (1) 'twist, wind, wring' beside pa-vijēti,id. Latv. viju, vît 'twist'. IE $^{+}$ṷei̭-, ṷi̭ei̭-.

vrej, aor. vrejta 'observe'. A cpd. of ve 'put' , and ré, (N) oroe 'attention' . See ruej, ruaj below'.

ziej, zjej, zij, and (Boçari) zie, aor. zieva , zjeva , ziva 'boil': Gk.

zéō, id. : Skt. yásyāmi, beside yásāmi, id. Av. yah-, id. : Tokh. yäs-, B yas- 'seethe, boil' ; cf. Arm. er̄am 'boil' ; Myc. zeso- 'for boiling'. IE +i̭es- (i̭esii̭ō). Also OHG iësan, MHG.Swiss jësen 'ferment', beside MHG jëst 'foam' : Skt. prá-yastaḥ 'bubbling over' : Gk. zestós 'boiling, hot' : OIcel. jostr 'yeast'. IE +i̭estós.

The form gjej 'find', aor. gjeta, pp. gjet-un,-ur has an unusual mp. form gjíndem. This suggests a link with Latin hed- in hedera 'ivy', and praeda 'booty' (if for +prae-heda : Eng. get) in relation to prae-hendō, ĕre 'take'. In the secondary sense of 'guess', gjej has an exact counterpart in OIcel. geta 'get; guess'. Even so, the phonology (+-di̭ Alb. j), although apparently reflected in the LW rruej, rruaj 'shave' from Latin rādĕre, is at variance with that postulated for dhjes: Gk. khézō, trus : Lat. trūdō. A further complication occurs in dynd 'displace', in which a fronted vowel (-y-) is not accompanied by sigmatization or loss of -d-.

bij, aor. biu, bini and bijti (3s.) 'sprout' ; mbij, id. : Gk. phúō, phuíō, v. 'grow'; em-phúō 'grow in' : Lat. fiō, fieri 'become' beside im-buō, ĕre 'impregnate' : Ir. bia, biad, impers. 'will be' : W bydd, id.: OE būan, būian 'dwell, inhabit' : OIcel. búa 'prepare; dwell' ; cf. Latvian da-būju 'get, reach, achieve' : OCS byti 'to be'. IE +bhūi̭ō (+bhu̯ii̭ō).

díhet, aor. u-di 'dawn' : Skt. dī- (2) 'shine', in dīdyati 'shines'; cf. also Alb. dívet 'dawns' : Skt. dīvyati 'shines' : div, dyú, etc. 'sky, day' : Arm. tiv : Hiero-Hitt. tiwa- : Myc. Diwo- : Gk. eu-día : Myc. Diwija (a name) : dīa 'goddess' : Lat. dium 'sky' : W dyw : OE Tīw : Ir. dia 'day'; an-diu 'today'. IE +dī-, +diu̯-, di̯u-, etc.

mpij, aor. mpijta 'numb' ; shpij, aor. shpijta 'loosen up, limber', cpds. from a type +pin-(?), cf. Skt. piṇḍa 'in a knot': Arm. henum 'twist, weave', beside hinem, id. : OCS pĭnǫ, pęti 'twist' : Li. pinu, pinti, id., Latv. pinu, pīt, id. IE (Alb. type) +en-pin-, +ek̂s-pin-(?).

ngrij, aor. ngrîna and ngriva, 3s. ngriu 'freeze'; shkrij 'thaw' ; from a type +en-krūsi̭ō (+en-krūsni̭ō) and +ek̂s-krūsi̭ō (+ek̂s-krūsni̭ō) respectively. For the simplex, cf. Tokh. A kroṣ, krauṣ, B kroșce 'cold': Arm. kur̄, adj. 'hard' : Gk. krúos, n. 'cold, ice, frost' : OHG hrosa 'frost'.

shij, aor. shiva and shîna, T shira 'thresh, tread (corn), winnow', scour, sweep, wipe'; fshij 'wipe' : Gk. ksūō 'shave, scrape'; cf. Latv. (metathesis?) skuju, skút 'shave'. Alb. type +ksūi̭ō, apo-ksūi̭ō.

Diathematic verbs in -*oj* are the most prolific in Albanian. Consisting, like their counterpart in Latin -āre, of both radicals and derivatives — denominatives and deverbatives-- they represent an abundantly productive group which is being added to almost daily, chiefly from that large fund of abstracta known as "Neo-Latin", which also includes many a technical term of Greek origin (*provoj*, *informoj*, *meritoj* beside *fotografoj*,*magnetizoj*), whose noun-derivative ends invariably in -*im*.

The phonology of these neologisms conforms to that of modern Romance. In this respect they differ somewhat from traditional loanwords from Latin and Greek, which represent an older pronunciation. To signalize the break with the medieval Greek tradition in Albanian, the modern language leans toward western Romance, and this has meant that some traditional loanwords have been reshaped to the new norm. Thus for older *periudhë*, *methudhë* (derivatives of Albanian *udhë* 'way', itself from Gk. hodós) , modern Albanian writers substitute *periodë*, *metodë* (while retaining the traditional form of the word *udhë*). Similarly,where traditional loanwords from Greek represent Gk. -u- as -*y*- (as in *shtyllë* 'column'), modern practice represents it as -i- (as in *stil* 'style'), thus creating a linguistic doublet. Similarly *tip* 'type', *fizikë* 'physics',etc. Agent-nouns and group-abstracta formerly given feminine inflections (-*istë* and -*izmë*) are now given masculine inflections (-*ist*, -*izëm*).

This enormous access of technical terms of "western" type has led to an increase in the Albanian lexique that is out of proportion to the native language, so that those looking for the richly expressive vocabulary of "pure" Albanian must turn rather to the mountainous North than to the sophisticated South.

Of the examples which follow, the monosyllables are mostly primary , while verbs of more than one syllable presuppose a nominal simplex, even where such a simplex is untraceable. Most IE languages with diathematic -ā- have examples of this kind (cf. Lat. amāre, Gk. distázō,OCS trŭzati).

agon,3s. 'dawns' ; denom. fr. *ag* 'morning light, iris of eye': Gk. augázei 'illumines, lightens; shines', fr. augē 'light, gleam, light of the eye'. The relationship of this word with *vegoj* 'loom; see in a vision' is not clear, since both forms apparently reflect IE^{+}au-.

biroj 'bore' : Lat. forō,āre,id. : OHG borōn,id. Albanian has a possible nominal background in birë,f. 'hole', and OHG also in bora 'gimlet' , but for Latin the simplex is missing. IE +bhr̥āi̯ō.

bunoj, T buroj 'spring, well up' : Icel. buna 'jet, spout'; f. 'jet' No further connexions. (Alb. bunar 'spring, well' is a Turkish loanword).

çmoj 'estimate': Gk. tīmáō 'honour'. Alb. and Gk. type +qu̯īmāi̯ō, but no simplex in Albanian.

çoj 'rouse; send; take (by hand, in a vehicle)';qoj 'stir, rouse' ; archaic Albanian nqoj,id. The simplex is represented by qoj, aor.qova, (T) qojta: Lat. cieō, -ēre 'stir, rouse, summon, repel';nqoj is equivalent to Lat.+in-cieō (in inciens : Fr. enceinte) ; and çoj = Lat.excieō 'stir, rouse'; other connexions uncertain. IE +ki̯ēi̯ō,+en-,+ek̂s-.

dalloj 'distinguish', a verb without a simplex. Cf. Skt. dalam 'part' : Arm. tay 'verse' : OHG zala 'number' : OE tael 'number'; talu 'series, story' : OCS dolja 'fate' : R 'part, share' : Li. dalis,id.: Latvian: daļa, id.; cf. Ir. fo-dail 'part' (= Li. pa-dalà,id.). For the verb cf. Skt. dalāmi 'burst' : Ir. fo-dailim 'divide, distinguish': Swedish af-tälja 'chop', beside tälja 'count'. (The Swedish form is ambiguous: +dal- or +dol-). IE +dal-.

dëboj,(tëboj), zboj, archaic: bdonj (Buz.) 'chase away'. This word, and the parallel phonology of dëborë, bdorë,(tëborë), vdorë, simplex: borë 'snow', illustrates a principle of a root altered by metathesis with a zero-graded prefix. This phenomenon occurs also in Greek, and has been the subject of much speculation. An attempt at a solution was made by the author in The Transactions of the Philological Society, 1942, pp. 11-14, on the basis that certain IE prefixes were zero-graded before certain consonants (notably +dĕ and +ek̂s to +d- and+k̂s),and metathesized, as has happened in Modern Greek, where Classical Greek ek-baínō appears as vyéno, ek-bázō as vyázo, and ek-bállō as vyálo. Some of the speculations in this article are no longer valid, since in a few cases there are alternative explanations. Alb.type+de-bhēi̯ō.

The verbs given above seem to have a partial reflex in Gk. ptoéō , future: -ēsō, from a noun ptoíā 'fright' , cf. Skt. bhayáḥ 'fear',and OCS bojǫ sę. Similarly vdjerr, (Buzuk) bdier 'destroy' in relation to Gk. phtheírō,id., the simplex occurring in Alb. bjerr,bierr,id. IE +de-bheri̯ō, the simplex occurring also in Lat. feriō 'strike',etc.

dyzoj 'fold, duplicate' : Gk. dízō 'doubt' ; cf. Arm. krčimn 'division'; IE type +du̯idi̯- ; variant in Lat. dubium 'doubt' (from +du̯idhi̯om).The IE radical is +du̯i- 'apart, in two' : Skt. dvi-,etc.

hetoj 'enquire' : Lat. scītō, āre, and scītor, ārī ,id. : MHG scheiden , sv.7 & wv. 'separate, decide, explain ;wv. (also)'split': OE scēadan, (for +scā́dan) 'separate' : Lith. skaitau,yti 'read': Latv. skaitu,skaitīt 'count' beside sķietu, šķist 'consider, suppose'. IE skoitāi̯ō. Z-grade in OCS čĭtǫ, čisti 'count, read, watch, honour' (IE +sk̂it-).Cf. also Skt. čétāmi 'perceive, desire, know, appear. (fr. +keit-?).

mbloj (Gk- and Sic.-Albanian) 'fill' : Lat. impleō, id. cf. Gk. émplēto 'was filled', émpleos 'full up'. IE+en-plēi̯ō. (Other senses of this verb derive from Latin). A simplex occurs in Gk.-Alb: *ploj*,id.

mbroj, *mproj* 'defend', from a type +en-apo-rēi̯ō. See below: *ruej*.

qoj 'rouse' : Lat. cieō,id. IE+ki̯ēi̯ō. See above: *çoj*.

ruej, *ruaj* 'guard, keep, defend', aor. *ruejta*, *ruajta*. The verb apparently contains the simplex *ré*, dial. *roe* , *oroe* 'attention', in the phr. *ve re* 'pay attention', a crasis-formation of which exists in *vrej*,id. For ruej, ruaj cf. :Lat. reor, rērī 'think' : OCS rějǫ, rějati(2)'discuss' ; and possibly Gk. arēménos 'looking forward to, awaiting'(queried, but not as late commentators,or L & S). IE +rēi̯ō. See page 162.

shikoj 'see , look'. A verb without a simplex, apparently related to *shoh*, *shof* 'see' The required phonology is of a type seen in the Vedic verb siṣakti 'follows, seeks': Gk. héspetai,id. Alb.type sĭsčqu̯āi̯ō (?), as against an inchoative form for *shoh* (?).

shkoj 'go'. Apparently a "Moesian" word from Gothic (or allied) skēwjan, v.'go'; cf. the Italian LW schivare 'go away; avoid', also from a similar Germanic source (cf. OHG sciuhen, with variant consonantism).

shpoj, T *çpoj* 'bore, pierce' : Skt. kṣipā́mi 'pierce, stab': Av. sif-(for xšif-?) 'bore'. IE +ksip-.

shtoj 'increase'; pp. *shtuem*, *shtuar* 'increased'; (archaic) 'standing' . (The compound *kundërshtoj* 'resist' appears to be derived from medieval Latin contrāstāre,id. .The prefix is, at any rate, Latin). From a type +sthāi̯ō, as in OPer. avā-stāyam,aor.1sg.'I restored': Per. īstam, sitām 'stand' : Oss. stĭn, istun,inf. 'stand' : Hom. stēō,1sg.'I may have set' : Lat. stō, stāre 'stand' : Osc. staít,3s.'judges':Umb.

stahu,1sg. 'stand' : Go. stōjan 'judge' :OIr. táim 'am': OCS stajǫ,ati 'stand' : Lith. stóju, stóti 'stop, stand, happen, become': Latv.stāj-os, stāties,refl. take up a stand, cease'.

shtroj 'lay out, spread, present' , from a type +strāu̯i̯ō, cf. Lat. strāvī 'I strewed', strāmen 'litter' (but Alb. shtromë 'mattress' is probably an early LW fr. Gk. strõma,id.): OBr. strou- 'spread' ("from strāu̯-" —Loth): Br. stréawet 'pp.'spread, scattered' : Go. straujan 'spread'; OE strēawian,etc. beside OIcel. strá 'litter'.

takoj 'hit, meet'; tokoj,id. From +tăkāi̯ō : Cornish tak,s. 'clap',takya 'to clap' : Srb. (long vowel) taknem, taknuti 'touch'.

vajtoj 'wail, mourn', an extended denominative from vaj 'woe'(s. & interjection) : Lith. vajtóju, -óti,id. and'suffer' (from vaĩ, as Alb.).IE +u̯ai (as in Gk. Lat. Gmc. etc.)

bluej, bluaj 'grind; digest', aor. blova and blojta, pp. blue-m,T bluar, blojtur. A possible cognate in Skt. mlātaḥ 'pulped, tanned' (qua Alb. +bluet) is not exactly echoed in OCS mlětŭ 'ground', since this,on the evidence of R mólot 'ground',represents metathesis of a type recorded in the Suprasaliensis text as mĭlětŭ. Albanian type +mlēi̯ō.

buj 'lodge, quarter; stay, dwell' , aor. bujta. The historical difference between the vowel of buj and that of bluej and other verbs in -uej is obscured by the identity of pronunciation in colloquial use. Only the Tosk forms (in -uaj) maintain the difference. The prototype, +bheui̯ō is echoed in Skt. bhávāmi 'am, exist' : Av. bavai(mi) 'I will be' , beside the mp. form buye,id. ; o-grade in Go. bauan, 3sg. pres. bauiþ 'live, inhabit' (Ger. bauen 'build, bebauen 'inhabit'),and possibly Arm. bovem 'wait'. A parallel noun occurs in Albanian bun,'mountain hut' : Skt. bhavan 'dwelling',etc.

dërkuj 'sup, dine', pp. dërkuǰtun, a Northern Geg word recorded in Buzuk. The simplex is darkë 'supper, dinner', a cognate of Gk. dórpon,id. IE +dorqu̯om,ā. The reduction of the root-vowel testifies to an early formation; the extension only being unusual, but suggestive of a frequentative of a type found in Greek (-eúō), Slavonic (-ujǫ, -ovati) & Lithuanian (-auju, -auti). IE +-eui̯ō. Cf however the next word.

gatuej, T gatuaj 'prepare; knead (bread)', a denominative from gati, an invariable adj. 'ready'. This word and its verbal derivative appears to be a "Moesian" infiltration with a Gothic background in gataujan, a compound of taujan 'make', beside a parallel form gatewjan 'arrange'. Whichever the prototype, the Albanian word is reflected in the Slavonic loanword from the same source : gotovŭ, gotoviti.

gjuej, gjuaj 'hunt', aor. gjuejta, gjuajta. An uncertain etymology for this word is inevitable in view of the ambiguity of the initial, and other factors. (Initial gj- sometimes represents initial IE $^{+}$s- as in gjarpën 'snake': Lat. serpens; gjak 'blood' : OCS sokŭ). Identity with gjej 'find, guess' (page 185) seems probable under a caption of IE type $^{+}$ghēdi̭ō : MHG gaeze 'greedy' (see Kluge EWDS: ergötzen): OIcel. gæta 'watch, heed' ; gáta 'riddle' (English 'guess' derives from Scandinavian, and, with Sw. gissa: Du. gissen, LG id., equates with Greek kheísomai 'will take in, contain', from IE $^{+}$ghedsi̭o-).

krruej, kruaj, scratch, scrape', aor. krrova, krujta and krojta: Gk. knáō, knaíō and knḗmi, fut. knēsō, id. : MIr. cnáim 'gnaw' : W cnoi, id., and 'fret, consume, chew, bite' (cnawd 'flesh'; cf. Gk. knēstós): OS (alleged) hnōa, s. 'groove' : Lith. knoju, knoti 'skin, strip, rip'. IE $^{+}$knāi̭ō. The noun krromë 'scab' equates with Gk. knēma, knēsma 'scrape, sting, bite'.

luej, luaj 'move, shift', tr. , aor. luejta, T luajta & lojta: OIr. lúaim 'move, stir' (also lúim) from a variant $^{+}$lū-, cf. Gk. lúō 'loosen, relax, ransome' : Lat. luō (2) 'atone for', so-luō 'pay'. The Albanian vocalism is preserved in Goth. lēwjan 'abandon, betray': OE lǣwan, id. and in Ukr. livyty 'give way': Cz. ú-, s-levit 'ease, give way' etc. A short diphthong is represented in Lith. liáuju, liáuti 'cease, abate' : Latv. ļauju, ļaut 'let, allow'. IE $^{+}$lēṷi̭ō ($^{+}$leṷiō, $^{+}$leui̭ō)($^{+}$lu-, lū-)

mbruj 'leaven, knead, ferment', aor. mbrujta. The Albanian form is reflected in Germanic: OS breuwan : MHG briuwen : OE brēowan 'brew', but elsewhere as $^{+}$bherṷ- in Lat. fervō, ferveō 'boil, ferment': MIr. berbaim, Ir. bearbhaim 'boil' : Br. birvi, pp. bervet 'boil, bubble' : W berwi 'boil, effervesce' . Albanian type $^{+}$en-bhreui̭ō . The simplex is represented in brumë 'paste, leaven, plasma', fr. IE $^{+}$bhreum-: Lat. frūmen 'sacrificial broth'; (late) 'porridge'.

quej, T quaj, archaic kluonj (Buzuk) 'call', aor. quejta, quajta.

From a type $^{+}$k̂lēṷi̭ō,

in which IE$^+$k̂ before $^+$l (and $^+$r) is inhibited (cf. Alb. grunë 'wheat'. The type is represented in Skt. śrāváyāmi 'noise abroad, inform': Av. srāvayēi(mi) 'sing, declare' : Tokh. A klaw-, B klāw- 'announce':Arm. lsem 'hear' , lsu 'obedient' (metathesis) : Gk. kléō, kleíō, klēízō 'name, extol' : Lat. clueō, ēre 'be called, be reputed' W clywaf,1sg.'I hear' : Br. klévann,id. : OCS slovǫ , sluti 'be called': Cz.sluju,id.

ruej, ruaj 'guard, keep'; pruej, proj 'defend'. See mbroj (p.188). The noun rojë 'guard' displays non-lengthening by compensation, as in the verbal forms, where -ue-, -ua- is due to the loss of the inflections. Cf. pages 162 and 188.

shkruej, shkruaj 'write', aor. shkrova, 3s. (Buzuk) shkrou, Tosk (also) shkruajta. A compound of krruej, kruaj (page 190) influenced by Lat. scrībere. Cf. a similar, though not identical, vocalism of shkoj 'go' in relation to It. schivāre,etc. (The IE initial cluster $^+$sk- produces Alb. h-). It. schivare ultimately derives from Germanic.

shuej, shuaj 'extinguish, cross out, erase', aor. shova, shojta & shujta, T (also) shuajta: Gk. psaíō, psā́ō, fut. psēsō 'crush, raze; scrape' , from an IE type $^+$qus̭əi̭ō ; Albanian type $^+$qus̭ēi̭ō. Further cognates are Skt. kṣayāmi (3) 'destroy' ; cf. Hitt. sxwa(hhi), sxwiska(mi) 'scatter' : OCS šajǫ, o-šajǫ 'remove'. (Boisacq DELG: psaíō qua $^+$bhesēi̭ untenable).

tëhuej,(a Geg verb) 'alienate, remove'. A denominative from the adjective i huej (T i huaj) 'strange, foreign', from a type $^+$skaiṷo- :EMDu. schouwen 'avoid' (not the same word as Du. schuwen) ; the simplex in Gk. skaiós 'lefthanded, awkward, stupid , unlucky, crooked': Lat.scaevus as Gk. : W ysgoew 'wry, fickle', the vowel echoed in OIcel.skeifr 'skew'. The prefix, present also in the variant të-boj 'chase away', derives from IE $^+$at(i̭)-, hence $^+$at-skaiṷō,i̭ō (via -skēṷi̭ō?).

truej, truaj 'consecrate; sacrifice; eulogize; bless; vow; swear; curse; (obs. Buzuk also 'hire out, let'). The many, apparently contradictory meanings of this verb are reflected in part in Lat. sacrāre 'bless , curse' (lit.'to pronounce solemnly upon', which seems to be the basic meaning of the Albanian verb). Isophonic is Skt. trāyāmi 'defend,protect, save' : Av. θrayei(mi) 'protect, nourish' if from $^+$trēi̭ō or fr. $^+$trāi̭ō. But cf. OHG drouwan, MHG dröuwen 'threaten': OE þrēawian and þrēaġan 'punish, threaten, attack, torture, afflict', cf. CS travljǫ, inf. traviti, and trovǫ, truti 'consume'; R travít' hunt, bait, set on'. IE $^+$trāṷi̭ō. The variant vocalism (with or without IE $^+$-ṷ-) is echoed in IE tāi̭- and tāṷ- 'melt', and strā-, strāu- 'strew', but the evidence for Alb. truej is ambiguous. (F.Holthausen AEEW: þrēa, and Kluge: EWDS: drohen confused).

vuej, vuaj 'suffer', aor. vuejta, vuajta. For the simplex vaj, see above (vajtoj), page 189. The long-grade $^+$ṷāi̭ of the Albanian form is also represented in Skt. vāyāmi 'languish' ; cf. Hitt. wāīn, acc. (queried) 'sorrow': Sw. voja sig 'lament' : Latv. vājš 'weak, ailing'; vājot, v. 'fall ill' : Lith. pa-võjus 'danger'. The uncompensated vowel is represented in për-vojë 'experience' ($^+$per-ṷāi̭ə).

fryej 'blow', aor. fryna, fryra and fryjta : Gk. a-spaírō 'pant, gasp' , cf. sparnós 'scattered; rare'. IE $^+$spr̥i̭ō (or $^+$sphr̥i̭ō). (The equivalence of Alb. f : Gk. sp is seen in farë 'seed' : Gk. sporá, etc.). The related noun is frymë 'breath' (from $^+$spr̥mā or spr̥mn̥).

fyej 'insult', aor. fyva, fyeva : Lat. spuō, ĕre 'spit' : W cf. ffi-nion, adj. 'abominable' : Go. speiwan : OHG spīwan : OE spīwan & spiwian : MHG spīwen and spīen (see remark on truej above) 'spew': OIcel. spýja 'vomit' : OCS pljujǫ, plĭvati 'spit' : Li. spiauju, ti, id.: Latv. spļauju, spļaut, id. IE $^+$spi̭ŭ̄i̭ō ($^+$spi̭ŭ̄ṷō).

grryej 'scrape', aor. grreva. A word with an ambiguous background. Probably related to Gk. khraínō 'graze, smear, stain' under an IE caption $^+$ghr̥ni̭ō, in which case Alb -rr- is expressive, not from -n- as in the verb krruej (above). The verb grryej seems to be inseparable from the noun grresë 'rasp, file, scraper' , which is inseparable from Illyrian grōssa, id. from $^+$ghrōti̭ə. This in turn indicates Gk. khrṓzō, etc.

kryej 'finish, achieve', aor. kreva and kryeva. Related to krye 'head' , this verb equates with Gk. kraínō 'bring to a head, finish' (in relation to krānı́on). Spartan karnea 'harvest-home' seems to contain the same root. IE $^+$k̂r̥ni̭ō (verbal derivative of type $^+$k̂r̥n- 'horn'). Mycaenean a-karano (queried) 'headless' contains the same radical.

lyej 'smear', aor. leva, lyva and lyejta. The Albanian vocalism requires a reconstruction either $^+$lu̥i̭ō or $^+$lōi̭ō (since -ye- is also the compensatory reflex of IE $^+$-ō-, which otherwise produces Alb. -e-). The second formula is preferable. Cf. Blg. lajnó 'dung' : OCz. lajno, Cz. lejno, id. : Pol. łajno 'cowdung' (fr. +lōi̯-), as against Skt. láyaḥ 'adherence' : OCS loj 'grease' : Li. lãjus, id. (fr. +loi̯-).

ndyj 'immerse'. For etymology see page 162. The word *ngjyej* 'dye' seems to be a variant of the same verb.

pshtyej, *pshtyj* 'spit', aor. pshtyna, pshtyva and pshtyjta. An onomatopoeic verb of type +pstui̯ō , +psti̯ui̯ō (+psth-): Skt. ṣṭhīvāmi, p.part. ṣṭhyūtaḥ, id.; cf. Hindi thuk 'spit': Per. tuff, id. : Oss. tū, id. Arm. t́uḱ, t́ḱo,-ov, id. beside t́ḱnem, v. id. : Gk. ptúō, id. : Br. tufa, id.

To the above diathematic types belong many loanwords of Latin origin, cf. *urrej* 'hate' : Rum. urî (fr. Lat. horreō); *prij* 'lead' , cf. Rum. a prii 'prosper, succeed, come on' (Lat. praeire) ; probably also *vij*, 2.3.sg. *vjen* 'come' (suppletive aorist: erdha) (Lat. venīre) ; *fërkoj* 'rub' : Rum. frecà (Lat. fricāre) ; *uroj* 'well-wish': Rum. urà (Lat. augurāre) ; *rroj*, *rrnoj* 'live' : Rum. rămînè 'stay' (Lat. rēmanēre), and many more verbs in *-oj*, most of which have been interpreted by G.Meyer.

Diathematic nasal types

From the verbs listed above it will be seen that a number have adopted , presumably by analogy, a nasal type of aorist (in -na, T -ra) alongside an aorist in -va or -ta. The following examples seem to contain original -n- as part of the radical.

âj, T *ënj*, 'swell', aor. âjta, T ënjta. From a type +ani̯ō, radical + an- 'blow; breath': Skt. ánimi 'breathe' : Lat. an- in anhelāre 'pant' : Go. uz-anan 'breathe out' ; cf. Hes. ántai 'breezes', and W anadl, anal 'breath'.

bâj, T *bëj*, *bënj* 'do, make' aor. bâna, T bëra, agrees with Gk. phaínō in its phonology, though the disparate sense makes the equation uncertain.

bzâj, (K. *pëzâj*) 'make a noise, cry out', aor. bzâna (pëzâna). A Geg compound verb, for which the simplex is the noun *zâ*, def. and gs. *zâni* (T. zë, zëri) 'voice'. Verbal connexions include Skt. hváyāmi 'call': Av. (upo-)zvayē(mi) 'call upon' : OCS zvonjǫ, -iti 'sound', beside zvĭnjǫ, zvĭnjěti 'resound'. Alb. type +apo-ĝu̯honi̯ō : R pozvonjú.

dhâj 'suckle', aor. dhâna. A Geg verb equating with Lith. žindu, žįsti 'suck (at the breast' : Latv. zīžu, zīst, id. beside zīdu, zīdīt 'suckle'. Without further connexions. Type +ĝn̥dhi̯ō.

mâj,T maj,'fatten, rear', aor. G mâna, T majta. From a type represented in Gk. máza, Dor. mádda 'cake' ;(uncertainly to mazós, Dor. masdós , and madáō, despite Boisacq DELG: madãn); cf. MIr. mann, mand 'fodder' (if fr. +madmn̥); W maeth 'food': Cor. meth, maid,id. (fr.+maditis) , beside W maethu 'to feed' (+maditō) : Go. mats 'food' (fr.+madis) :MHG maȝ, gs. maȝȝes : OE mete : LG and Sw. mat,id. : OIcel. matr,pl.matir, id. beside mata,f. id. Albanian type apparently +madni̯ō. The adjective i majmë 'fat, fattened' suggests a prototype +madim(n)os.

përzâj'chase away', aor. përzûna,-zura. A compound whose radical is zâ, T zë 'seize', from IE +gu̯hen-mi : Skt. hanmi, Hitt. kwe(n)mi,etc. See pages 170 & 171: zâ.

zdrâj 'bruise, gall', aor. zdrâna. A Geg word of uncertain history,from which is formed the noun zdrâmë 'weal, chafing, gall' If from a type +dis-dhragni̯ō, cf. OE dreccan 'to torment', dracu 'torture'. Apparent variants occur in R draznìt' 'tease, annoy' (+dhrāĝ- or +dhrāĝh-); Pol. drażnić 'irritate'; in Cz. drážditi,id. (+dhrāgi- or +dhrāghi-); and in Latvian dragāju, āt 'shatter'. (+dhragh-,or in view of Cz. drhat, v. 'scour', +dhrogh-;+dhr̥gh-). A further variant is possible in Sanskrit drāghe 'torture, tire; be tired' (+dḥrāgh-).

mêj 'lessen', aor. mêna and mejta. From a type +məni̯ō (+mn̥i̯ō) : W manu 'lessen' : OCS mĭnjǫ sę, mĭniti sę 'decrease'. A parallel form based on+mənu̯- (Gk. Hes. mánus 'small') occurs in Lat. minuō,ĕre 'lessen'.

ndêj, T ndëj, ndënj 'stretch', aor. ndêna (Buz. ëndena), T ndera; also ndeva : Gk. enteínō,id. cf. Lat. intendō,id. The simplex occurs in Ir. tanuighim 'make thin'. Alb. type +en-teni̯ō (or +entəni̯ō).

kërthîj 'stunt, retard, soften, crumble', aor. +kërthîna. A Geg denominative verb from kërthî, def. and gs. kërthîni 'premature child,baby, weakling'; ngrythë 'withered, wizened' , beside ngríthem,v.'pull a wry face'. The radical is+kr̥k̂- as in Skt. kṛśyāmi 'be stunted, be ailing': Av. kərəsa- 'lean, wizened' : Kərəsānis,m. (name of an enemy of the genius of the haoma (Skt.soma) plant, said to inhibit growth): Lat. (Festus) crācens 'slim, lean' : OIcel. horr 'starvation': Cz. krs, m. 'dwarf-tree', krsati, krsnouti 'be stunted' : Lith. kiršùs 'ailing' ; kirštu, kir̃šti 'go mad'. Cf. also Pol. karzeł , karlę 'dwarf'. IE +kr̥k̂- 'stunted, defective, dwarfed',etc. The cpd. represents +en-kr̥k̂.

shtrîj, T shtrij 'spread out, extend, project', aor. shtrîna, shtriva & shtrijta: Skt. stṛṇā́mi 'spread' : Av. stərən-, id. : Per. gu-stardan, id. (cpd. with +au̯e-) : W sarnu 'pave'. IE +str̥ni̯ō. 0-grade in Greek stórnūmi 'spread'; e-grade in Lat. sternō, id.

thîj, T thij and thinj 'turn grey' (tr. of hair), aor. thîna, T +thira, pp. thî-më, T thínjur. The noun is thinjë, pl. 'grey hair'. Perhaps fr. a type +k̂īni̯ō, cf. R sinij 'light blue' : OCS sinĭ, id. ; siněť ' turn pale blue', but without further certain connexions. (Skt. śīnám 'ice' seems remote from the sense of the Albanian word). Latin cĭnis('ash') is a possible alternative cognate.

përvûj 'instil; apply; suggest; humiliate', aor. përvûna and përvûjta. All but the last meaning are obsolete (Buzuk, Budi). A cpd. of vê 'put', q.v. (page 143, para.3) based on the zero-grade aorist vûna, T vura.

hŷj, T hyj 'enter', aor. hŷna, T hyra. A word of uncertain origin; cf. OIcel. skynja 'search, inquire into' (?), itself lacking an etymology.

ndrŷj 'lock; lock in, detain', aor. ndrŷna. The simplex is drŷ, def. and gs. drŷni 'lock'. The verb-type is from a formula +en-dr̥ni̯ō, cf. Gk. draínō 'have strength, be strong, be ready'.

Addendum

(see pages 154 & 155)

djerr, dora, dirr, djerr-un 'destroy; lose' : Skt. dar- (pres. dr̥ṇāmi) v. 'burst, tear, break open': Per. daram 'tear' : Gk. derō, Hom. deírō, v. 'skin, flay' : OE teran, OFris. tera : MHG zërn : Du. teren 'tear', cf. Go. dis-taíran 'tear' : OCS derǫ, inf. dĭrati 'strip, flay, plunder': Li. derù, dir̃ti 'peel, skin'. Albanian type +deri̯ō : Hom. deírō. The long grade of the aorist dora is reflected in Skt. dāraḥ 'tear, cleft, hole'; -dāriḥ, cpds. '-rending' : Gk. (Hes.) dērē, dẽris 'strife': W dir (1) 'force': LG tāren 'tease, needle': OIcel. tæra 'consume' : OCS děra 'rent, tear'. IE +dēr-.

piell, pjell, polla, pill, piell-un, pjellur 'bear (young), bring forth, yield'. Possible cognates under the cpd. mbiell, q.v. (page 155).

prier (page 156), add the archaic forms (Buzuk) përier, aor. përora.

THE ADVERB

Adverbs are of interest to historical grammar in revealing inflections, formerly belonging to nouns and adjectives, that have been lost from the paradigms within the historical period. A number of pronominal inflections, otherwise lost, have also been preserved in this way (cf. English 'why', a former instrumental of 'what').

Separate from adverbs, although similar in function, are the invariable predicative adjectives common to most IE languages. Such, in Albanian, is *gjallë* 'alive' (fr. IE^{+}solu̯o-), a type of word that frequently appears as a neuter in other IE languages (cf.Gk. hólon 'wholly', and Lat. (unrelated) sōlum 'alone'; cf. also R khólodno 'cold', etc.). A number of these are loanwords from Latin, cf. *mirë* (well :mīre), *shpesh* (often: spisse), *shum* (very: summum), *pak* (little: cf. paucus, It. poco); *rrallë* (seldom; cf. rallus). Here also belongs the (ultimately Germanic) loanword *gati* 'ready' (cf. R gotovo).

Adverbs are primary or derived. The first are descended from simple roots, occasionally embodying an archaic inflexion. Derived adverbs are those that are compounded of simple elements, or modified by prefixes or suffixes. Commonest of these are *pa*- 'un-, dis-, in-', etc.; -*as*, -*azi* (unstressed suffixes of identical function and meaning), and -*ísht*. For the first cf. Skt. apa-, Gk. apo- and the Albanian preposition *pa* 'without'. For the second, cf. Latvian nekādi 'in no wise', otrādi 'otherwise, vice versa', vienādi 'always', in relation to Alb. *léhtas*, *léhtazi* 'easily', *ríshtas*, *ríshtazi* 'newly', *kráhas* 'alongside; by the arms', *bárkas*, *bárkazi* 'on the belly, by the belly' (from *i lehtë* 'easy, *i ri* 'new', *krah* 'arm, shoulder', and *bark* 'belly' respectively). (Speculations on Greek adverbial suffixes in Chantraine: MHG, pp. 122-126 ; Wright: CGGL, pp.343-345; WH: LEW: ibī . Gk. póthi, hóthi, int. & rel. 'where' not explained in Boisacq: DELG.).

afër 'near', *afró* 'about, approximately'; from a type $^{+}$opter-, cf. Latin opter (obter), propter 'near'. The simplex occurs in Osc.Umb. op, prp. 'near, with, at' : Mycenaean opi- 'at', and the Lat.cpds. in ob-.

aqë 'as much, so much' derives from a type $^{+}$oki, the simplex in *që*, *qi*, rel.prn. 'who', of unknown origin.

as..*as*.. 'neither..nor..'. From a type $^{+}$oqu̯i Cf. Gk. hó-ti 'any'; Arm. oč atjé 'there'; atý 'yonder'. Correlative in këtjé 'yonder'. The initial fragment is that of the demonstrative pronoun (page 114), as is the initial of këtjé. The ending -je represents a locative as seen also in the N.Geg word nádje 'in the morning' (natë 'night'); cf. Vedic naktayā 'at night'. The form atý has no correlative form, and may contain the 2nd. pers. pronoun (acc. and dat.) ty.

bashkë 'together'. The relationship of this word with bashkë 'fleece' & Lat. fascis 'bundle': Gk. pháskos,n. id. is inevitable (despite the rule that IE $^{+}$sk > Albanian h). The existence of a Phrygian word baskioi 'bonds' (Hes.) suggests a borrowing of the Albanian word from this or a neighbouring language, such as Macedonian. A similar problem arises with the Albanian word dushk 'oak', shkozë 'hornbeam', in which the consonantal cluster -shk- suggests borrowing.

dej 'the day after tomorrow'; dej pas dej (T)'in three day's time'; dejmënatë 'two mornings hence' (It-Alb.). A word of uncertain phonology containing the element of IE $^{+}$diṷ- ($^{+}$di̭u-), as in Skt. diví, Gk. id . and general IE. This element occurs in dívet 'it dawns'.

deri 'even'; as a cj. (with më, në forming a cpd. prep.) 'till';archaic djerie (Buzuk)(often in sense of 'while'). Variant: djerë. IE $^{+}$dheri; cf. Arm. deṝ 'still, yet' : Lat. fere 'nearly, mostly' ; o-grade in Blg. dorì (do) 'up (to)': Lith. dar 'still, yet'.(Mladenov untenable).

dje 'yesterday'; pardjé 'the day before yesterday'. A word of complicated history with cognates in Skt. hyáḥ : Gk. khthés : Lat. heri : W (mutated) ddoe : Br. dech, déach,etc. and forming part of Irish in-dé (an-dé), and English yes-terday; Ger. ges-tern,etc. IE^{+}ĝhdhesi,of uncertain composition.

drejt 'straight', from Latin directum.

duke(T form of Geg) tue, representing continuous action when linked with the inf./pp. The Tosk form appears with initial d- representing IE^{+}t in an unemphatic position, though this is rare in Albanian. IE apparently $^{+}$tō-qṷō surviving also in another sentence-modifier tek po punonte 'as he was working'. Tek is from $^{+}$tō-qṷō reduced to^{+}tōqṷ: duke from the same formula via $^{+}$tṷō-qṷō (with induced^{+}-ṷ- after^{+}t-), followed by loss of the first $^{+}$ō. Geg tue represents a dative-locative formula tā(i̭); cf. Gk. tẽj, the feminine article. Variant: tuke.

edhe 'yet, still; also' ; dhe 'and'. From a sentence particle probably : Gk. ge; cf. also the compound particle ēde 'and' (the first element a cognate of Albanian o 'or' : OCS a 'and, but'). IE $^+$ā. The Albanian fragment dhe probably descends from $^+$ĝe, and does not equate with Skt. gha, ha, nor with OCS že, žĭ , Lith. gi, though the function is similar.

fare 'quite'; an oblique form, dat. or loc. sg.,of the feminine noun of a-stem farë 'seed; kind, species' (page 61). The semantic link is obscure.

fort 'very, very much' , fr. Lat. fortis, used as an adverb.

gati 'ready; almost' , from an Eastern Germanic source (via Moesian?).Cf. pp. 113, 189-190.

-isht, a suffix added to nouns and adjectives (especially those in -ar & -ik) to denote manner or custom. Thus italisht 'Italian-fashion';and (with flas 'speak') flas italisht 'I speak Italian'; italishte,f. def. italishtja 'the Italian language'. So with other nationalities. For the extension cf. Gk. Thrąk-istí 'in Thracian fashion',etc.(A variant arises in Armenian eriçs'three times' : OHG driski 'threefold': Latv. tenter-iski 'head-over-heels). IE $^+$-isti, ($^+$-isk̂i).

-íu, a suffix in vetíu 'of its own accord'; gjetíu 'elsewhere'.The first example appears to be from a type $^+$auti-seu̯- 'of its own self', the form veti 'of itself' being a common variant without -u (see Medio-passive, p. 167,paragraph 1). Cognate with the form veti is Dor.auteĩ, Boeotian autĩ. Gjetiu seems to be derived from a formula $^+$se-auti-seu̯. For $^+$se-, see WH: LEW: sē, sē-, sed, and,for the formula as a whole, cf. Gk. he-autón, heo autoũ,etc. (with dialectal variants).

jashtë 'out; outside'. From a type $^+$ek̂sto- with compensatory change from -je- to -ja- (cf. jam 'am', from $^+$esmi due to loss of $^+$-s-). Cognate with Gk. ektós 'outside' : Lat. exta 'removed entrails, middlings , dregs of wine'; ext-erior 'outward'; with R-grade in Arm. əst- cpds. 'out-, beyond-': MIr. acht 'but'. From jashtë derives the adjectival form i jashtëm 'outer' (type 2, pages 110-111): Lat. extimus,id.: W eithaf 'extreme, farthest'. IE $^+$ek̂stəmo-.

jo 'no'; jo-,px. 'non-'. A word of obscure origin, probably not from Tk. yok 'no, not' since the word is recorded by v.Harff (in 1496) as jae, i.e. jā; perhaps to Gk. hē̃, hē̃j 'where' (in the sense of German 'aber woher!' in the sense of 'nein'). If so, jo is elliptical for +j̯ā+ne , literally 'indeed not'(?)

kot 'in vain'. See page 108: i kotë 'useless': Gk. tḗtē 'futility',etc.; short vowel in Lith. katēti 'to pine' : W paid 'cessation'. IE qu̯āt-, +qu̯ăt-, the Welsh form from +qu̯ătis.

ku 'where' ; zero-grade of a form represented in Skt. by kva 'where',beside kú-ha,id. : Av. ku, kva,id. : Oss. kŭ 'when, if'; Īs-kŭ'whence'; cf. Gk. pó-then 'whence' ; Arm. ḥ-o 'where' (+en-qu̯o) ; OCS kŭ-de(cf. Skt. kú-ha),id. IE +qu̯o,+qu̯. Long-grade is represented in Tokh. B kā- : Doric pō̃ : Lat. quō : Umb. pue : Ir. cá 'where, what, why, how': OS hwō, huo 'how' : Du. hoe,id. : Latv. ko 'why'. IE +qu̯ō. See below: Preposition, page 208.

kund 'somewhere, anywhere'; variant: kundi,id. A doubly reduced form of a type +qu̯om-de (+qu̯mdé, +qu̯md) ; cf. Oss. kand...nä 'not only' :Lat. nē-cunde 'from somewhere' (whence unde by false division) :Fris.hwant, hwent,cj. 'for': Du. want,id. : OCS cf. kǫda, kǫdy and kǫdu'whither'; Pol. kędy : Cz. kudy ; R kudà,id.; cf. also Pol. do-ką̧d : Cz. dokud 'as long as'. (kundi fr.+qu̯mdé as jemi fr.+esmés).

kur 'when', a zero-grade form as in Latin cūr 'why' , Lith. and Latv.kur 'where', and Arm. ur 'where'. 0-grade in Skt. kár-hi 'when':ON hvargi 'everywhere' (fr. +qu̯or-ĝhi); the simplex in Go. hvar, OIcel. hvar 'where', beside OHG hwara,id. Alb. type +qu̯r-

kurr 'never', apparently a doubly reduced form of +qu̯or-ne as seen in OE hwar-ne 'not at all'. Alb. type +qu̯rn-.

larg 'far', from Latin large in its post-classical sense.

mâ, T më 'more', also a formant of the comparative/superlative. From Lat. magis.

mot 'a year hence' (also motmot). For the etymology see page 79 (i-stems).

mu 'straight, to one's face, dead-on', apparently a word of the order of Skt. mukhaḥ 'face': Hind. munh,id.

nalt, T lart 'in the air, up, above'. From Lat.+inalte (cf. Late Lat.inaltāre 'raise aloft') : Rum. înalt.

ni (Italo-Alb.) 'now'. In mainland Tosk taní 'now' (= Gk. to nũn, Scots the now). IE +nū. The form naní also occurs.

nuk 'not' (forms the simple negative, and is equivalent of s',id.). Cf. OHG noh 'nor' (lit. 'and not'), Go. nih (for +ni-uh), and Lat. neque. Albanian type +neqṷ- with metathesis to +neuk-.

pak 'little'. LW from Lat. paucu-, cf. It. poco.

po 'yes' . LW fr. Lat. porrō 'but, indeed' (in Lat., as in Alb., often an expletive, but in Albanian it also forms the continuous tenses in conjunction with the grammatical present: po shkoj 'I am going').

posht 'down, below' . LW from Lat. post 'afterwards', cf. Rum. apús'sunset'.

pra 'therefore' : Gk. paró,id. (from para ho). For the simplex cf. Greek pará'by, past, near',etc. (Boisacq, DELG: pará), and see below: Preposition: për.

qe-,që-, an expletive prefix in qe-tash 'as of now'; që-kur 'some time ago', që-këtej 'right this way' ; që-moti 'long ago'. This, and the invariable relative pronoun qi, që,are represented by a prototype of a kind present in Persian ki (ke) 'who; that, namely', a particle introducing a statement of direct or indirect speech (cf. Per.pursīd ki "či dard dārī?":Alb. pyeti qi "ç'dhimbje ke?":he asked (that) "What pain have you?"). The formula is characteristic of Albanian folktales, but is no longer a literary usage. Alb. qe-(që-) derives from +ke,the relative qi (T që) from +ké. Kurdish ke 'who',etc. Other connections uncertain. For speculations on the origin of Osc. ekkum 'also, again, likewise' ; ekss 'yes', see WH: LEW: ecce. The evidence for Gk. ekeĩ, keĩ is ambiguous; see below: sivjet, sot, sonte. A deictic particle +ek- is implied for the Kurdish expletive ek, and Pers. ak-(in ak-nūn 'right now'). The obsolete qish, interr. and rel. 'what'(1555 and the following century)seems to be a cpd. of type +ké-si̭ēt reduced in the final syllable. See pages 122 and 196.

qysh 'how' (the semantic equivalent of si,id.) is inseparable from the above, in the form of an ablative plural.

rrallë 'seldom', a LW from Latin rallus (+ralle).

s' 'not' (the equivalent of nuk above). A zero-reduction of IE +qṷid,cf. Gk. ti-pte 'nothing' : Arm. č̣' 'not' : Romani či,id. As a positive,cf. Per. či (če) 'what'.

sa 'how much'. From a type +qṷi̭ə to account for Albanian sigmatism. Cf.

for the contraction to s- Megaric sá, neut.pl. interr. 'which'.Cpds . include sapó 'just' ; sadó 'however' (cf. do 'will':pages 129,171).

si 'how; as' : Gk. tíē 'why' : Lat. quia-nam, quī 'how, why'; quia 'because' : OIr. cía 'why; though, because' : Br. pé 'or': Cz. či,id. IE $^{+}$qu̯ii̯ā,$^{+}$qu̯ii̯ə,$^{+}$qu̯ī. Herea also belong OHG hwio 'how;as' : OS hwiu & hwī 'why, how' : OIcel. hví 'why' : Sw. hvi 'how,why'.

shpesh 'often' , from Lat. spisse,id.

shtu (obs.) 'yes' (Buzuk); kështú 'thus, like this', ashtú 'thus, like that'. The compound forms are preceded by the deictic particles of the demonstrative pronouns. Cf. Skt. astu 'let it be' : cf. Volscian estu,id.: Osc. Umb. estud,id. and Lat. esto : Gk. estō . IE $^{+}$estu,beside $^{+}$estŏ.

shumë 'very, very much' ; LW fr. Lat. summum.

tej 'yonder, beyond, away' (cpds: andéj 'that way', këtéj and këndéj'this way'; përtéj 'beyond, over yonder'. The simplex is the relic of a demonstrative pronoun in a dative-locative form, cf. Gk. tō̃j 'then , therefore' : Lat. is-tō 'by that, in that' : Lith. tuo- (in some adverbial cpds.) 'at that...' : OCS ta-,etc. IE $^{+}$tōi̯,$^{+}$tō.

tepër 'too, too much',(?)a LW from Lat. tōpper 'forthwith', but the semantic link is obscure. If native Albanian cf. tej above and për'through'

-thi, suffix indicating manner, as in fluturim-thi 'in flight, flightily, on the spur of the moment'; arí-thi 'like a bear, rearing' (arí'bear') Variant: -thin. A formant $^{+}$-k̂in possibly present in Arm. mia-sin 'together': OCS sǫ-sĭnŭ 'mutual' , pri-sĭnŭ 'akin'.

vjet 'last year'; an oblique form of the^{+}-os/-es- neuter type $^{+}$u̯etos,-es- 'year'. See pages 98 & 96 (Archaic neuters). Cpd. parvjét 'the year before last'. See Derived Adverbs: përpara.

vonë 'late' ; the adjective with preceding particle (i,e vonë): Lat. vānus 'empty, silly, useless, false' IE $^{+}$u̯ān- . With short vowel, cf. MIr. fann 'weak'; fanaim 'I stay, dwell' : W gwan 'weak, faint': Br. gwān (non-historical length) 'weak, vain, useless' : OE wan, wann, in cpds. wan- 'lacking': Go. wans, adj. ; wan,adv. id. : OHG wan :OIcel. vanr,id.; Ger. wahn (non-historical length) 'empty, weak,"flat"(wine)' etc. IE^{+}u̯an-.

Problematic is the derivation of the word shqip , N shqyp 'Albanian-wise' in the phrase flas shqip 'speak Albanian', ha shqip 'listen to reason',to which belongs the verb shqiptoj 'pronounce' . In the sense of 'Albanian' this word, and its derivative Shqiptar, n. & adj. 'Albanian', is unknown in the 15th and 16th century emigrant colonies of Greece, Sicily and Italy, where the forms arbër, Arbëresh are in use. Popular belief links the word with shqipe 'eagle'; if so, the word is a nickname bestowed by non-Albanians upon the natives of Albania proper, presumably with reference to their aquiline features. The word shqipe 'eagle' is in any case not of Albanian origin, since IE $^{+}$sk- produces Albanian h-. A further complication is the existence of a word sqyp 'beak' (with initial s-), itself a word of non-Albanian origin.

Derived and Compound Adverbs

andáj, prandáj 'therefore'. For the first element an- cf.andéj that way', OCS onŭ, ona, ono 'he, she, it' : Lith. anàs, ana 'that'. For the ending, cf. -ai as a "dative feminine" type of adverb in Gk. párai, Lat. prae, Gk. khamaí 'on the ground' and the final element of Alb.njiditëzaj 'one of these days'. Cf. also Gk. pálai 'of old'. In these words , Alb. -d- represents, as elsewhere, IE $^{+}$t after -n-, hence the second element derives from a formula of type $^{+}$-tai-, cf. Lith. taĩ 'so,then' (based on the demonstrative tas), reflecting also the adverbial suffix -ai of ilgaĩ'for a long time'(ìlgas), andaĩ 'some time ago': OCS zlě 'evilly' ; pravě 'uprightly',etc. Prandaj differs from andaj by a prefix representing IE $^{+}$pro-, with the usual reduction to zero.

andéj 'that way', këndej 'this way' appears to contain the elements of andáj, but with $^{+}$tōi̯ (Gk.tõj)); see Primary adverbs above: tej. The deictic particle kën- (present in the demonstratives kë-) apparently represents an accusative in $^{+}$-m, though the details are not clear.

as- in various cpds. 'not-' (as-pak 'not at all' , as-kund,-kundi 'nowhere'; as-kush,-kushi 'no-one', as-kurr 'never'; as-njerí 'nobody' , etc.). For the simplex of these forms see Primary adverbs above. The simplex as arises in the formula as...as... 'neither...nor...,and is a full-grade form of the negative particle s''not', and is equivalent to Arcadian ózis'whoever'. (P.200: s').

do-, a generalizing particle related to do; due 'will; wish' (pages 139, 163 and 171), and as such translates exactly the usage of Rum. va.

Examples include dosidó 'anyhow', domosdó 'certainly', sidomós 'especially',sidó 'anyhow' (cf. Rum. cum-va), kurdó 'any time' (cf. Rum. cînd-va), kudó 'everywhere'(cf. Rum. unde-va). See also Selective Pronouns (p.123) and Non-selective pronouns (p.124).

dot,a post-verbal particle indicating impossibility (s'ha dot 'I can't eat); cf. Gk. dē̃ta 'indeed', and R da,id. IE $^+$dāt-,$^+$dā.

gjithmonë 'always', an accusative def. of gjithë 'all' and mot 'time,year' for which see I-stem nouns, page 79:mot.

héret 'early', a N Geg word, derived from the feminine singular ablative of herë 'time (fois)', from Lat. hōra (a doublet occurs in Alb. orë , f. 'hour', a later borrowing). Herëherë 'now and then'. The Albanian usage of herë and orë exactly reflects that of Rumanian oară 'time' , and oră 'hour'.

ka-dálë, ka-pák 'slowly'. The radical in the first form is seen in the verb dal 'stop' (a Tosk word). For ka- cf. perhaps Lat. quam.

këndéj, këtéj 'this way', see andéj, tej (pp. 201 & 202).

këtú 'here' contains the deictic particle kë and an indeterminate relic of the demonstrative $^+$to-,$^+$ta-,etc. (unless -tu is the relic of a form represented in Arm. ḱov 'side' : Per. sū, sūy,id.). Uncertain.

krejt 'quite', a form of kréjet, abl. sg. of krye 'head'(pp.55,56).

kund 'anywhere, somewhere'(see above: Primary adverbs) forms the compounds gjëkund, gjëkundi 'somewhere', askund, -kundi 'nowhere'.

mbarë 'entirely; prosperously' (in the phr: shkoj mbarë 'succeed'). A compound adverb with a reduced vowel in the radical syllable, IE type $^+$en-pər- as in Gk. empar-, px. 'into, by' ; cf. Alb. përpara,adv. and prep. 'before' : Gk. própar, cpds. propara- . The simplex arises in the prep. para (with dat. and abl) 'before' : Gk. pará, and as a prefix para-,id. Boisacq (DELG) regarded the vocalism of pará as zero , (qua $^+$pr̥- in view of Germanic for-: Lat. por-rigō,-tendō,etc.) , but this formula does not accommodate the "preposition-ablaut" , clearly present in Gk. ení: aná; epí : apó; perí : pará, with analogues elsewhere (cf. Eng. in : on) (IE $^+$-e- : $^+$-ə-). See below: The Preposition.

mbrâmë, mbrâma, T mbrëmë 'in the evening'; prâmë (archaic: Buzuk,Harff)f. 'evening' ; i mbrâmë 'last' . From a type$^+$(en-)pro-apəmo- 'hindmost , furthest, endmost',etc. ; the simplex in Skt. apamáḥ, id. (the Albanian form qua Skt.$^{+}$prâpamaḥ), cf. Gk. pro-apo(-stéllō) '(send) away'.Cf. prapë, prapa below.

mbrênda, T brënda (sic)'within, inside'; as prep. 'inside'. IE formula $^{+}$en-pro-endo, the final portion represented in në (archaic ëndë), see below: Preposition.

-mëzaj '-fold' (with numerals: dy-mëzaj, tre-mëzaj,etc.). The fragment is inseparable from that of the adjective i dy-mëstë 'twofold'.Origin unknown.

mezí 'scarcely', a cpd. of me 'with' (see Preposition) and zí 'dearth , famine' ; cf. Skt. yūníḥ 'sterile animal' : Lat. jūnix 'heifer'.

mjaft 'enough, fairly'; a cpd. of me + aftë (i aftë 'adequate', fr. Lat. aptus).

nádje 'in the morning', a locative form of natë 'night'. See page 197 : atjé.

ndófta, ndóshta 'perhaps'. For the first element ndo- , cf. Gk.an déoi, an déēj 'if there is need' (cf. do;due 'will; wish', në do 'if you will'. See pages 139, 163 and 171). For the second element, cf. Lat. potest (potis est), via $^{+}$ptə to Alb.-fta ; and possit, possiet ($^{+}$potis si̯ēt) via $^{+}$ptsi̯ə (?) to Alb. -shta (cf. a similar reduction in Italian o sía 'or', qualchessía 'whoever',etc.)

ndrýshe 'otherwise'contains the element of ndroj, ndrroj 'change',a word without a simplex. For ndryshe Buzuk has ëndryshej, and for ndrroj , ëndëronj. The last word seems to derive from Lat. alternāre after assimilation to $^{+}$anternāre, but without parallel in Romance.(Thus also G.Meyer : EWAS: ndëronj, but his interpretation of ndryshe is unacceptable). (The Albanian vowel -y- is notoriously difficult to trace,cf. gjysh 'grandfather', hyll, yll 'star', dyll 'wax' and many more).

nérgut 'deliberately'(variants: nérgu,and nërgut T). Apparently a Slavonic loanword (cf. OCS negrŭdŭ 'not proud' ??), but the sense is without parallel.

nesër 'tomorrow'; Italo-Albanian: nestër,id. ; nesërejt 'on the morrow'. From a type^{+}nokti̯or- : W neithiwr, neithwyr 'last night' : Br.neizoer, neizür,id. Cf. also Gk. núktōr 'by night', and Lat. noctur-nus. The extension -ejt is of uncertain origin.

nga 'whence'(usually interrog., used also as a "preposition" with the n.

From a type +en-qu̯o . For the simplex (with long vowel) cf. Doric pō̃, Lat. quō,etc.

pári, **këtú** —, **atý** — 'hereabouts, thereabouts', from an IE type +pəri , alternating with +p̥ri and +pri. All grades are represented in Lycian ŭrpi 'for' : OLat. pri 'before' : MIr. ri 'towards' : OHG furi'in front of'; as px. past- : Gaul are, ari 'on, upon' : OW rhy 'very,too much' : Br. ré,id. : Latv. pāri (with secondary length) 'over,at, toward' ; cf. OCS is-prĭ 'above' : Lith. pri- 'to-' as a px.

përpára 'forward'; as prp. 'before'. See page 203: mbarë.

parvjét 'the year before last'. For par- see mbarë,above; and for vjet, see p. 201.

pastáj (T),(**mbasandáj** (G))'afterwards'. The analysis is +poti + +toi̯- , cf. Doric pot tõs and other variants, for +poti toio 'from that', the simplex in Doric potí, cpds. poti- : Av. paiti : OPer. patiy : Per. pas 'after'. The Geg form represents a formula +en-poti-an-toi̯. Cf. andáj, prandáj, page 202.

përherë 'always', a cpd. of +pro- and the Latin LW<hōra.

përpjét 'upwards' : Gk. propetḗs 'headfirst', cf. Lat. perpes,-petis.

përsipër 'above'; the simplex sipër 'above' is a preposition, occasionally used as an adverb. Variants: síprazi, sípri. From a type +atiper- or +ati-pro- (the adv. cpd. +pro-ati-pro- or sim.): Skt. atipra- as a verbal prefix 'over, past, excessively',etc. The two elements exist separately in Lith. at-, ati- 'back' and pra-; OE ed- and fra-.

pothúe, T **pothúa**, **pothuajse** 'almost'. A compound of po (a weak proclitic of no special significance) + thue 'thou sayest ; say! ' (see p. 127) The fragment -se is a sentence-link 'that' , from +qu̯em : Bulg. če.

prapë'again, back', **prapa** 'behind': Gk. pro-apo- 'away-'. The Geg equivalent of prapa is mbrapa (fr. +en-pro-apo). See p.109: i prapë.

si-vjét (**sim-vjét**)'this year'. For vjet, see page 201. Si- here represents the relic of a demonstrative otherwise absent in Albanian, except in the adverbs sonte 'this evening' and sot 'today', recognized by F.Bopp in his monograph Über das Albanesische, 1855, p.2. as identical with that of OHG hi-naht :Lith. šį̃-met, šią-nakt : Ger. heu-er, heu-te,etc. as well as cis- in Lat. cis-, citra : E hither,etc. The word sonte probably represents a reduced form of a dative +k̑i̯ā-noktei, and *sot* a form of *ditë* 'day' with a similar deictic prefix.All forms: *sivjet*, *sonte* and *sot*,are given by Boisacq under ekeĩ.See page 88.

-sh, the ablative plural inflection, used as an adverbial modifier like its cognate form Greek -si. Thus *dysh* 'in two', *trish* 'in threes',etc. As an adjective it inflects like those of Type 3,p.112. Cognate forms are Arm. -c̣i (bȓnc̣i 'with the fists', maglc̣i 'with the claws', cf.Gk. khersí 'with the hands' : Alb. *duersh*). For *trish* cf. Lith. trisè 'in a group of three' and the Skt. loc. triṣu

taní 'now', Tosk form of *tash*, below. See above, page 199:*ni*.

tëhú 'hither, till now', a word of uncertain composition, but perhaps fr. $^+$at-seu-, cf. Latv. at-sev-išķi 'separately' (?). See page 121:Reflexive pronouns.

tútje 'henceforth' contains the elements of *këtú* 'here' and *atjé* 'there' but the exact history is obscure.

tash, *tashtí* 'now'. The first element is a demonstrative on the analogy of *taní*, the Tosk form given above(cf. Gk. to nũn, Scots the now).For the rest, the word is of obscure origin. Several solutions suggest themselves; none is convincing.

vesht, only in the phrase *marr vesht* 'understand', from an ablative-instrumental inflexion of *vesh* 'ear'(see page 81). For the fluctuation in usage between ablative and instrumental there are parallels both inside and outside Albanian. Cf. N.Geg *vêndit* 'from the spot',*shqimit* 'utterly'; *dóret* 'by hand' (punë dóret 'handwork'); *héret* 'early', etc. For the inflection cf. Vedic sanā̂t 'from early times'; Skt. tāt 'from that': OLat. dōnōd 'from a gift' (= Skt. dānāt,id.), as against Hittite wetenit 'by water'; the dative sense of Gothic dalaþ 'downward', aljaþ 'to somewhere else'; and the adverbial sense of Gothic samaþ 'together' and OCS strŭmotĭ 'utterly'. The last form, if genuinely ending in -tĭ (not -tŭ), may reflect the Hittite ablative in -c (as in nepisac 'from heaven', arunac 'from the sea'), but this is given a different interpretation (albeit tentative) by Sturtevant : CGHL 1951,pp.88-9. Adverbial also is the ending in Lith. anot 'according to' (fr. $^+$onāt), and in the phr. vienas vienat 'one only'.Gk. pōs, kōs, hōs and tōs seem also to reflect the ending -t.

vetëm 'only' (adjective type 2 *i vetëm*, f. *e vetme*, see p.110)is a superperlative formation akin to Skt. -amáḥ: Lat.-imus etc. (adv.-ime).The history of this word, in its basic form *vetë* 'self' is given on page 121. The following adverbial forms have counterparts in Greek: *véti* 'of its own accord' : Doric auteí, Beotian autĩ,id.; N Geg *vétit* is an alternative form of this word. *Vetíu* 'of its own accord' is a variant of this, from a type autit-seu̯-, cf. Homeric heo autoũ,id. A reduplicated form *vetëvetë* 'itself' (in a reflexive sense) has an equivalent in Delphic ausautós,id. *Veç* 'but', and the phr.*veç e veç* 'separately',represents a formula $^{+}$autisi (containing the inflection of the ablative plural (t+sh), and *vétmas* 'apart' is extended by the fragment -*as* given on page 196.

THE PREPOSITION

The following govern the accusative: *me* 'with'(cf. Skt. agni-mát'fiery': Av. maṭ 'by, with' : Arm. -mę (ablative pronom. ending: ənd aǧmę'on the right'; i çaxmę 'on the left') : Myc. and Gk. metá 'with; among': Lat. egō-met 'I myself', suā-met 'by its own force' : Umb. pus-me 'to whom', anglo-me 'to the corner' : Go. miþ, mid 'with' : OHG miti,mit,id. etc.)

më, *mbë* 'at' (archaic *ënbë* Buzuk) : Gk. amphí 'round, about' : Lat. ambi-; zero-grade in OHG umbi,id. IE^{+}əmbhi ($^{+}$m̥bhi).

mi, *mbi* 'upon', apparently an IE cpd. of type^{+}ănə+epi, but lacking confirmation.

nën 'under' (archaic *ëndënë* Buzuk), a cpd. of type $^{+}$endo-en.Geg *nên*.

në 'in, into, at, on'(archaic *ëndë* Buzuk), from IE $^{+}$endo : Gk. endo--thi, endo-i, cpds. endo-: Hitt. and Messap. anda : Lyc. îte (âte) : OLat. endo, indu : MIr. ind-,px. , inn,prp. : Arm. əndo- in əndo-cin : Gk. endo-genḗs ('born in the house, born a slave').

nëpër 'through' (archaic *ëndërpër* Buzuk), from a type^{+}n̥dher-per or similar formula. For the first part, cf. Lat. infra: E under,etc.; for the second, cf. Skt. pári : Gk. perí : Lat. per : Lith. per,etc.(A formula $^{+}$enter-per is also possible). See the next word.

nër, *ndër* 'among'(archaic *ëndër* Buzuk) : Skt. antár 'within': OPers. antar 'inside, among': Per. andar ; Av. añtarō,adj. 'inner': Arm. ner-, in cpds., beside ənderḱ 'entrails': Hitt. anturis 'internal': Gk.enteron, -a 'womb; entrails' : Lat. inter, intra : Osc. anter: MIr. eter,Ir. eadar, eadra : OBr. iter- : Br. etre, entre : Cor. ynter, yntra : OCS

Cf. MIr. in-athar 'entrails' : OS inn-athri,id. OCS vŭn-otrĭ 'inside'beside ję̧tra 'liver'.

pa 'without' , from a type +apo, cf. Skt. ápa : Gk. apó : Hitt. appa: Goth. af-,etc. See prapë, prapa above (page 205).

për 'for', as a px. për-. Ambiguously from +per or from +pro (probably from both, according to sense). Cf. nëpër above.

përmi, përmbi 'above' (archaic përënbi Buzuk). A compound of për and mbi, see above.

The following govern the dative of nouns, the ablative of pronouns, and (in the plural) the ablative of nouns denoting number, quantity, composition,etc.: afër 'near' (p.196); gjatë 'along' (apparently from a type +stlət- , represented in the adjective i gjatë 'long', zgjas, aor. zgjata 'lengthen'(for speculations, see WH, LEW: lātus); ith 'behind,after', an obsolete word of unknown connexions ; jashtë 'outside' (page 198) ; kundër, kundra 'against' (fr. Lat. contra); kundréjtë, kundrúell 'opposite' (fr. Lat. contra + rectu- and contrārie respectively); larg 'far from' (Lat. largu-); mbas, T pas 'after'(from a type +en-poti, -poti,cf. pastáj,p.205) ; mbrapa, T prapa 'behind' (page 205); ndërmjét 'among' , the second element from an ablative of type +medhi̯o-'middle': Skt.madhyaḥ, Lat. medius,etc.; para 'before, .. ago'(see p. 203: mbarë) ; përpara 'in front of' (p.205); përpjét, usu. a posposition (p.205); pos, përpos 'except' (pos also = 'alongside, beside'), of unknown origin; pranë 'alongside' (cpd. of për + anë 'side', see p.76); prapa (page 205); prej'from', from a type +prōi̯ : Gk. prōí 'early': OHG fruo, fruoī ; rreth 'round', a prepositional usage of the noun rreth 'hoop, ring', from a type +u̯roik̂-, lit. 'bent': Myc. roiko- : Gk. rhoikós : Lith. raišas and riešas; rrótull 'round' (fr. Lat. rotula); sipër 'upon' (cf. p. 205:përsipër) ; tej 'beyond'(see page 201) ; tinës, tinëz 'unknown to' (origin unknown); veç 'besides'. An obsolete preposition ən (n̥) with the ablative occurs in Buzuk, in the sense of 'from'. Origin uncertain. Përveç 'besides',p.207.

A small number of preposition-like forms, derived from adverbs, govern the nominative. Such are ka and nga 'from' (see Adverbs: nga), and ke, tek, tu and tuk 'to, at' (all cpds. of pronouns of IE type +qu̯ō̆-, +to-, tō-qu̯ō, etc. with varying stages of reduction. Cf. Gk. pō, tō,etc.).

Si 'as, like' is an adverb, not a preposition. (See page 201)

CONJUNCTIONS AND MODAL PARTICLES

a , a particle introducing a question (see Mann:HAED): W a,id. Cf. Ir. ag a, do a, introductory particles; a, ase 'or' (= o, ose, below).

aqë 'so...', correlative with sa 'as'. A cpd. of a and që, below.

deri 'even'. See deri under Adverbs, p.197.

dhe 'and, also'; ambiguously to Gk. ge (${}^{+}$IE ge : Sl. že ,or IE^{+}ĝe as in Albanian). See below: e, edhe.

e 'and' (in weak constructions, or in clichés). Probably from a type ${}^{+}$eti, cf. Gk. éti 'yet': Lat. et 'and' (with loss of ${}^{+}$t- as in me 'with' , see Prepositions).

edhe 'and, also', emphatic form of dhe. Of ambiguous origin, probably = e + dhe as above, but cf. such Gk. forms as ḗde 'and', hō-ge,etc.

ende 'and' (Central Geg form of edhe), a cpd. form with several possible interpretations. Among the possibilities are : OFris. OS ande, endi : OHG anti,etc. : Gk. anten- ,px. 'instead-'.

kaqë 'so, to that extent'. A cpd. of ka- (${}^{+}$qṷo-) and që, see below: qi.

kinse 'as if', a N. Geg word written separately in Buz. (kinë se).A further meaning occurs in Bardhi (1635) 'so that, in order that', a usage echoed in Rrota (Letratyra shqipe 1925). The word is also in use alone (kin) without se. Its vowel and consonant suggest a Slav loanword (such LWs are commoner in the N dialects than in the centre and in Tosk). Cf. Bulg. kinà, interr. 'what', related by Mladenov:EPRBKE: to OCS kyj, kynŭ, kŭnŭ 'who, which' ,etc. Se is the relative link fr. ${}^{+}$qṷem.

ndonsé 'although', a cpd. of në don (= do 'wishest') and se. See below : në 'if'.

nejse, ndejse, an epithet of indeterminate meaning, roughly 'well, so-be-it, all right'. From në 'if' , dejë, pres. subj. 3s. of due, dua (pp. 129, 130, 139 and 164)(the usual 3sg. is dojë, archaic detë).

në 'if' (a zero-grade monosyllable) : Gk. an,id. : OE an,id.

o, ose 'or'. The simplex has cognates in Gk. ē : Lith. õ 'but' : OCS a 'and, or'. IE ${}^{+}$ā. For se see below. Alb.ose : Gk. ēte 'or also'.

po, a sentence-particle reinforcing the action denoted by the verb; often = por 'but' (from Lat. porro).

por 'but', see above.

qi, që 'who, which, that', a relative particle with an archaic ablative: qish 'by what' (Buzuk), also used as a nom. 'who, what'. Not related to se or si (from $^{+}$qṷe-, $^{+}$qṷi-),but a deictic particle of doubtful origin, perhaps to Persian ki (introducing an indirect or a direct formula. See pages 122 & 200: qe, që).

sa 'as much,so much'. See page 200. se 'that', type $^{+}$qṷem. See p. 122.

sepsé 'because', a cpd. of se për se. See the separate entries: pp.

sikúr 'as if' , a cpd. of si and kur, q.v. Adverbs: pp.201 & 199.

thuese, T thuajse 'as it were, so to speak'. A cpd. of thue, thuaj, imperative sg. of them, thom 'say'. See page 128.

ADDENDUM

To Prepositions with the dative and ablative add:

ndaj 'among, with, towards, in respect of'. Buzuk distinguishes two similar forms: ëndaj 'by' and ëndenjë 'towards, about (of time)', the latter surviving in a cpd. ndajnatë 'evening, dusk'. Of ambiguous origin, but clearly a cpd. (Gk. entháde, enthádī 'in; there' are merely isophonic, not necessarily cognate).

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Addendum on the Prohibitive Mood

The prohibitive, or negative imperative mood is formed with *mos* 'don't', dialectal *mo*. The second, or radical form is related to Gk. mē, Doric mā, Skt. mā, and Armenian mi. IE $^{+}$mē. The first, and usual form represents an IE type mē-qu̯i-,cf. Skt. mākis,mākim 'let not': Av. māčis, māčiṭ 'let no-one; let nothing' : Oss. máči'make no-one,make none' beside mākä 'don't' : Gk. mēti 'that by no means'.

As a prefix *mos-* it indicates a verbal negative, or non-function, as in *mos-punues* 'non-operative'. See page 113.

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